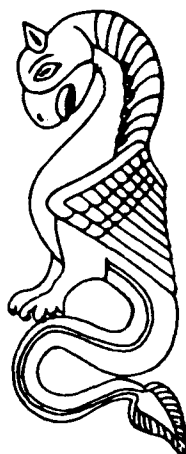


Leeds Studies in English

New Series XXIV

1993



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Of Mice and Men: Ælfric's Second Homily for the Feast of a Confessor

Mary Clayton

Ælfric's second homily for the Common of a Confessor (Assmann IV) is a work which has received little attention since it was published in 1889.¹ This two-part text is, however, a most interesting witness to two common Ælfrician practices: his freedom in combining points from very different authorities to produce a thematically coherent exegesis, and his willingness to disrupt this careful cohesion to introduce a theme which testifies to that increasing concern with addressing issues of contemporary relevance which is so characteristic of his later career. In this article I should like to examine the homily from both these points of view, offering a study of the sources and of the political background which may have inspired the second, and only tenuously connected, part of the text.

The homily can be fairly closely dated by the note which is prefixed to it in one of the manuscripts and by its relationship to other texts by Ælfric. The note, which is found in CCCC 188 and which must have been copied from the source of that manuscript, explains that Ælfric has composed the homily at the request of Bishop Æthelwold the Younger and has had it transcribed in order to preserve a copy for himself after the homily had been sent to Bishop Æthelwold: 'Hunc sermonem super rogatu venerandi episcopi Athelwoldi, scilicet Iunioris, Anglice transtulimus, quem huius libelli calci inscribi fecimus, ne nobis desit, cum ipse habeat' [We have translated this sermon into English at the request of the reverent Bishop Æthelwold, that is the Younger, which we have had written into the back of this book, that we may not lack it when he has it].² Æthelwold II, or the Younger, seems to have been bishop of Winchester from 1006-12, and a figure about whom very little is known, though it is clear that his prestige was not such as to maintain the prominence which the bishopric of Winchester had enjoyed under his namesake, the first Æthelwold.³ A further aid in dating is suggested by Fehr, who pointed out that lines 195-201 of

Assmann IV, the passage on Arius, are very similar to lines 51-55 of Ælfric's *First Old English Letter for Wulfstan*.⁴ Ælfric's *Be þære halgan clænnysse* (Assmann II) is very closely dependent on the *First Old English Letter for Wulfstan*, but does not use this passage on Arius, which is instead used in Assmann IV:

Das Schicksal des Arius wird wohl deshalb als ein abschreckendes Beispiel der schnellen Gottesbestrafung von Ælfric angeführt, weil ihm der altenglische Hirtenbrief II mit seiner Schilderung der vier grossen Konzilien noch frisch in der Erinnerung stand, so frisch, dass Wort und Satzechos noch herüberklingen

[The fate of Arius is adduced as a frightening example of speedy divine punishment by Ælfric because the Old English Pastoral Letter II, with its depiction of the four big councils, was still fresh in his memory, so fresh that there are still echoes of words and sentences].⁵

Fehr therefore suggested that 'Ælfric schrieb 2 [*First Latin Letter for Wulfstan*] im Jahre 1005, die englische Übersetzung 1006 [*First Old English Letter for Wulfstan*], die Homilie E [Assmann IV] im folgenden Jahre 1007' [Ælfric wrote 2 in 1005, the English translation in 1006, homily E in the following year, 1007].⁶ The homily, therefore, would seem to have been written soon after Æthelwold's installation as bishop in 1006.

There is some evidence to indicate that Ælfric added Assmann IV to *Catholic Homilies I*, as three of the seven manuscripts contain late versions of this series, but the evidence is not conclusive.⁷ In one manuscript it forms part of the group of homilies for the Common of Saints with which Ælfric concluded *Catholic Homilies II* and it occurs in different contexts in the other three manuscripts.

Assmann IV is Ælfric's second homily for the Common of a Confessor, the first having formed part of *Catholic Homilies II*.⁸ As Sisam pointed out, 'the reform movement had multiplied the popular commemorations of confessors, both by its own saints – Dunstan, Æthelwold, Oswald, Wulfsgie – and by the inevitable spread of such relic cults as that of St Judoc; so that there was a need for an alternative to avoid repetition.'⁹ This second homily is an exegesis of a different pericope: whereas *Catholic Homilies II*, xxxviii had been based on Matthew 25. 14-29 (the parable of the talents), Assmann IV explains Matthew 24. 42-47:

Vigilate ergo, quia nescitis qua hora Dominus vester venturus sit. Illud autem scitote, quoniam si sciret paterfamilias qua hora fur venturus esset, vigilaret utique, et non sineret perfodi domum suam. Ideo et vos estote parati: quia qua nescitis hora Filius hominis venturus est. Quis, putas, est fidelis servus, et prudens, quem constituit dominus suus super familiam suam ut det illis cibum in tempore? Beatus ille servus, quem cum venerit dominus eius, invenerit sic facientem. Amen dico vobis, quoniam super omnia bona sua constituet eum.

[Watch therefore, for you do not know on what day your Lord is coming. But know this, that if the householder had known in what part of the night the thief was coming, he would have watched and would not have let his house be broken into. Therefore you also must be ready; for the Son of man is coming at an hour you do not expect. Who then is the faithful and wise servant, whom the master has set over his household, to give them their food at the proper time? Blessed is that servant whom his master when he comes will find so doing. Truly, I say to you, he will set him over all his possessions.]

This second pericope is also the pericope in one of the masses for the occasion in the Missal of the New Minster, Winchester (the other mass for the day has Luke 11. 33ff.).¹⁰ Bishop Æthelwold, therefore, may well have wanted a homily based specifically on this pericope rather than the *Catholic Homilies II* text which may not have corresponded to Winchester practice. Like the earlier homily, Assmann IV is clearly a text for reading aloud on the appropriate day: it is not, as at least some of the *Lives of Saints* would appear to be, a reading-text for private use. Clemoes sees the mention of an anniversary 'today' as the criterion for distinguishing reading-pieces from liturgical homilies and it is clear that Assmann IV falls into the latter group.¹¹ Ælfric twice mentions the anniversary today, at the beginning and in the middle:

forþan ðe we rædaþ ðas rædinge foroft
æt þæra halgena mæssan, þe we hataþ *Confessores*,
swa swa wæs ðes halga wer *Ille*, þe we wurðiað to dæg

mid halgum lofsangum to lofe þam hælende,
þe hine gewurðode mid heofenlicum wurðmynte.

(ll. 26-30)

[because we very often read this lection at the masses of the saints whom we call Confessors, like the holy man *Ille*, whom we honour today with holy songs of praise, in praise of the saviour who honoured him with heavenly honour.]

swa swa þes halga wer *Ille* dyde, þe we wurðiað to dæg.

(l. 136)

[just like the holy man *Ille* did, whom we honour today.]

In composing Assmann IV, however, Ælfric was faced with the problem that Matthew 24. 42-47, was not a common pericope in the sources to which he turned most often. Paul the Deacon, Ælfric's main source in the *Catholic Homilies*, has two texts commenting on Luke 11. 33ff. headed *Item in depositione unius confessoris* (III, 107 and 108) and one on Luke 12. 35 as its *Item de confessoribus* (III, 109).¹² Haymo has two homilies *De confessoribus* in his *Commune Sanctorum*, one based on Matthew 25. 14-28, and the second on Luke 12. 35-40.¹³ Smaragdus's homily *In natali unius confessoris* is based on Luke 14, 26ff., and the Matthew 24. 42-47 pericope is not expounded anywhere in his collection.¹⁴

Some English versions of Paul the Deacon do, however, contain a text which is more similar to Ælfric's pericope: Royal 2 C iii, Lincoln Cathedral MS 158 and CUL Kk.IV.13 all contain a short homily which is based on Mark 13. 32-37, which is thematically and verbally like the Matthew 24 passage.¹⁵ The source for this appears to be a passage from Jerome's *Commentary on Matthew*, followed by a passage from Bede's *Commentary on Mark*.¹⁶ These two commentaries were known to Ælfric in their entirety, so it is not possible to know whether this very short text was available to him separately. All three manuscripts also contain a homily extracted from Bede's *Commentary on Mark*, also expounding Mark 13. 33ff. These would appear to be the only homilies for the feast of a Confessor which to some extent covered Ælfric's pericope and which could have been available to him. In addition, Ælfric knew Jerome's *Commentary on Matthew* and Bede's *Commentary on Mark*.¹⁷ Luke 12. 35-41, furthermore, is also to some extent a parallel Gospel passage and Ælfric knew Bede's *Commentary on Luke*,¹⁸ which expounded this passage, and probably Haymo's homily *De confessoribus*, which

also deals with this Gospel.¹⁹ The same Lucan pericope is also the basis for Smaragdus's homily *In natalem sanctorum plurimorum*, heavily dependent on Bede, which again would presumably have been known to Ælfric.²⁰ Although, therefore, opening his copy of Paul the Deacon at homilies for the feast of a Confessor may not have presented him with much in the way of texts which expounded his pericope for the occasion, Ælfric nevertheless undoubtedly had available to him a range of works dealing with very similar subject-matter which he could have drawn upon in composing his own homily.

The homily begins, as is usual with Ælfric, with a faithful translation of the pericope, preceded by a brief introduction to the context of the Gospel passage (ll. 1-21). It then covers the two types of vigil (physical and spiritual), expounding Luke 12. 38, in support of the point on spiritual vigils; deals with the pericope's story of the householder and the thief, interpreted in terms of the spirit's fear of death; then with the necessity to be ready for Christ's coming; with the need for teachers to feed the people and with a definition of good teachers, like the apostles, and the rewards which they will receive for their work; and the remainder of the homily (ll. 168-294) treats of God's revenge, whether immediate or delayed, on those who do not respect him, supporting the point with a long list of examples drawn largely from the Bible and concluding with the declaration that teachers are vital to restrain the foolish, as fear is essential for all. The homily, therefore, becomes chiefly one on the superiority of the religious state, and of teachers in particular, and on the necessity for good teachers, a perennial theme in Ælfric's work.²¹

The homily follows the structure of the running gloss, with sections of the translation of the pericope being repeated and commented upon, beginning with the first sentence (ll. 34-35), 'Vigilate ergo', which is explained in both physical and spiritual terms. The body's vigil is interpreted as 'our' night-office, an exegesis which would appear to be Ælfric's own. It is not specified whether the first person plural here is a monastic one or whether it refers more generally to all those in orders, both monastic and secular orders. Given that Bishop Æthelwold was almost certainly a monastic bishop and certainly presided over a monastic cathedral community in Winchester, however, the laudatory description of those who perform *uhtsange* probably does refer to the monks:

Ðæs lichaman wæcce is, þonne we waciað on cyrcan
æt urum uhtsange, þonne oðre men slapaþ,
and we tobreað urne slæp and gebiddað for eow

and heriað urne drihten mid halgum lofsangum

(ll. 37-40)

[The body's watch is when we keep watch in the church at our nocturns, when other people sleep, and we interrupt our sleep and pray for you and praise our Lord with holy songs of praise.]

Ælfric's treatment of the physical vigil is, therefore, one which excludes the laity, relegating them to a much inferior role, dependent on the prayers of the monks. Exactly the same kind of division between 'us' and 'you' can be found in Ælfric's references to divine services in his Second Series homilies on Job and on the book of Genesis.²² Psalm 119. 55 (the psalm *Beati immaculati*, which the Benedictine Rule assigned to the beginning of every week and which was quoted in the Rule in support of its organization of monastic prayer) is then quoted and translated in support of the monks' night devotions (ll. 42-45).²³ Ælfric next turns to the spiritual vigil (ll. 47-50), defined as the watch against the devil, who is described in a quotation from 1 Peter 5. 8 (already used in his *Catholic Homilies II* homily on Job) as a 'grymettende leo' (ll. 52-55).²⁴ None of the analogues seems to contain this quotation and it would seem that it has been added by Ælfric, probably recalling his earlier use. His exegesis of the spiritual vigil against the devil, however, is very close to his possible sources. In his *Commentary on Mark* 13. 37, for example, Bede, drawing on Gregory, had expounded the 'vigilate' of the Gospel thus:

Vniueri ianuas cordium nostrorum ne hostis antiquus mala suggerendo irrumpat instanter seruare iubemur. Ne nos dormientes dominus ueniens inueniat sedulo singuli praeuere debemus. Vnusquisque enim pro se rationem reddet Deo. Vigilat autem qui ad aspectum ueri luminis mentis oculos apertos tenet uigilat qui seruat operando quod credidit uigilat qui a se torporis et negligentiae tenebras repellit.²⁵

[We are all commanded to guard earnestly the doors of our hearts lest the old enemy break in, making suggestions of evil. Individually we should diligently take precautions lest the Lord coming should find us sleeping. Every single one truly will deliver an account of himself to God. A man is vigilant who keeps his eyes open for the sight of the true light of the mind; he is vigilant who continually practises his beliefs; he is vigilant who

repulses from himself the darkness of listlessness and carelessness.]

Ælfric then turns to the Gospel of Luke, quoting and translating Luke 12. 38, on the servants who are blessed if their lord comes in the second or third watch and finds them awake, taken from a passage which is very similar to the Matthew pericope that he is expounding here. The process of scriptural association is, of course, a very familiar one in Ælfric's work and the shortage of direct sources for this homily would probably have encouraged his use of it here. He quotes only the first few words of the Lucan verse in Latin, but before translating the whole verse adds the Latin aside: 'Secunda vigilia vel tertia non dicitur, nisi sit prima, quae praecedat' [The second watch or the third are not mentioned, unless there be a first which goes before] (ll. 62-63). As his exegesis will specify the meaning of the first, second and third watches, while the biblical verse mentions only the second and third, Ælfric is concerned to point out that a second watch implies a first, presumably lest his interpretation seem to lack biblical authority. I have not been able to discover a source for this aside and it may well be his own, directed at Bishop Æthelwold. The interpretation of the Lucan passage which follows is one which ultimately goes back to Gregory the Great's homily no. xiii but which would also have been available to Ælfric in Bede's *Commentary on Luke* and in Haymo's *De confessoribus*. As teachers and their role feature prominently in Bede's discussion of the passage and as Ælfric, appropriately for the feast of a Confessor, takes up this theme, it was probably Bede's *Commentary* which he was using here, although he certainly also knew the Gregory homily as a whole and not just what Bede and Haymo extracted from it. Gregory interprets the watches of the night as the ages of mankind: the first is childhood, the second adolescence and the third old age. Man turns to God in one of the three vigils, depending on the age at which this happens. Ælfric takes over this explanation of the three watches of the night, expanding on what it means for the soul to turn to God at each of these stages:

Prima quippe uigilia primauum tempus est, id est pueritia;
secunda adulescentia uel iuuentus quae auctoritate sacri eloquii
unum sunt dicentis: Laetare iuuenis in adulescentia tua; tertia
autem senectus accipitur. Qui ergo uigilare in prima uigilia noluit
custodiat uel secundam ut qui conuerti a prauitatibus suis in
pueritia neglexit ad uias uitae saltim in tempore iuuentutis euigilet.

Et qui uigilare in secunda uigilia noluit tertiae uigiliae remedia non amittat ut qui et in iuuentute ad uias uitae non euigilat saltim in senectute respiscat.²⁶

[The first vigil is of course the time of the first period of life, that is childhood; the second vigil, youth or manhood, which are the same on the authority of the sacred declaration of him who says: 'Rejoice, young man, in your youth'; but the third is understood to be old age. He therefore who was unwilling to keep watch in the first vigil let him indeed observe the second, so that, since he failed to turn away from his evil ways in childhood, he may at all events watch out in the time of his manhood for the true path in life. And he who was unwilling to keep watch in the second vigil should not let slip the remedy of the third vigil, that he who in manhood does not watch for the true path of life may come to his senses at least in old age.]

Seo forme wæcce is witodlice on cildhade,
and seo oðer wæcce is on weaxendum cnihtade,
and seo þridde wæcce is on forweredre ylde.
Se ðe nolde wacian on ðære forman wæccan,
swa ðæt he on cildhade gesohte his drihten
and mid godum bigengum hine gegladode,
wacie he huru on þære oðre wæccan
and his mod awrecce of middaneardlicum gedwyldum,
forþan ðe he nat þone timan, ðe his drihten cymð.
Gif hwa ðonne bið, þe hine sylfne forgyt
on þam twam wæccum and wunað on his leahtrum,
warnige he þonne, þæt he huru ne forleose
þa ðriddan wæccan, þæt he ne forwuðe mid ealle,
ac huru on his ylde of ðam yfelan slæpe
his ærran nytennysse ardlice arise
and mid soðre gecyrrednysse gesece his drihten
and on godum weorcum wunige oð ende.

(ll. 67-83)

[Truly the first watch is in childhood and the second watch is in flourishing youth and the third watch is in advanced old age. He

who did not wish to keep watch in the first watch, in that he sought his Lord in childhood and gladdened him with good practices, let him at least watch in the second watch and arouse his spirit from earthly errors, because he does not know the time when his Lord will come. If there is someone who forgets himself in the two watches and continues in his sins, let him take heed at all events that he not ruin the third watch, so that he may not perish entirely, but at least in old age vigorously arise from the evil sleep of his former laziness and with true conversion seek his Lord and continue in good deeds until his death.]

Ælfric's lines 84-89, on Christ's concealment of the last day in order that we should live in constant expectation of it, probably depend on Bede's continuation of the passage on vigils (drawn again from Gregory's homily xiii): Bede is commenting here on Luke 12. 40, but this is virtually identical to Matthew 24. 43 and the same exegesis is therefore valid:

Furi autem resisteret, si uigilaret, quia aduentum iudicis qui occulte animam rapit praecauens ei paenitendo occurreret ne impaenitens periret. Horam uero ultimam dominus noster idcirco uoluit nobis esse incognitam ut semper possit esse suspecta ut dum illam praeuidere non possumus ad illam sine intermissione praeparemur.²⁷

[He, on the other hand, might have resisted the thief if he kept watch because, guarding against the arrival of the judge who secretly snatches the soul, he would have met him doing penance, lest he should have perished impenitent. Truly our Lord wished for that reason that the last hour be unknown to us, so that it may always be apprehended, that, while we cannot foresee it, we may be continually prepared for it.]

Again, Haymo expresses very similar ideas in *PL* 118, 790 in his commentary on Luke 12. 40. The exegesis of the next lines seems to blend passages from Bede (who is again dependent on Gregory) and Haymo (who is drawing on Bede and/or Gregory, but not verbatim), with Ælfric's more explicit spelling out of the spiritual meaning of the pericope perhaps owing more to Haymo:

Nesciente etenim paterfamilias fur domum perfodit quia dum a sui custodia spiritus dormit improuisa mors ueniens carnis nostrae habitaculum irrumpit et eum quem dominum domus inuenerit dormientem necat quia cum uentura damna spiritus minime praeuidet hunc mors ad supplicium nescientem rapit.²⁸

[In fact the thief broke into the house unbeknownst to the master of the household because, while the sleeping spirit drops its guard, unexpected death coming breaks into the dwelling place of our body and kills him whom the Lord of the house found sleeping because, when the spirit least expects the coming hurt, death snatches him unknowing away to punishment.]

Spiritualiter autem paterfamilias iste, noster est animus, qui tunc male securus dormit, quando diem mortis obliuiscens, a bono opere torpet, et breuissimum tempus vitae praesentis, quasi longum sibi promittit. Furis autem adventus mors est, quae improvisa subito dum non speratur ueniens, thesaurum animae nostrae ad poenas rapit Si autem terminum vitae nostrae sciremus, aliud tempus poenitentiae deputaremus.²⁹

[But spiritually the master of the household is our soul which wrongly sleeps untroubled when, forgetting the day of death, it is inactive in good work and promises itself that the very short time of the present life is long. The coming of the thief, however, is death, which suddenly coming unforeseen, when it is not expected, snatches the treasury of our soul to punishment. If, however, we knew the limit of our life, we would allot more time for penance.]

Ðæs hiredes ealdor soðlice is ure agen mod,
and se dyrna þeof, þe digollice cymð,
is se gemænelica deaþ, ðe þæs mannes lichaman
mid his digelan tocyme to deaðe gebringð.
Gif se hiredes ealdor wende him þæs ðeofes
oððe wiste his tocyme, he wolde him wiðstandan,
forðam ðe þæt mod wolde micclum hogian,

Ælfric's Second Homily for the Feast of a Confessor

þæt hit awoce and geworhte dædbote
his swærran synna, ærþam þe se swearta deað
him to become, gif hit his cyme wiste.

(ll. 95-104)

[The master of the household is our own spirit and the hidden thief who comes secretly is universal death who, with his secret coming, carries the man's body off to death. If the master of the household expected the thief or knew of his coming he would resist him because his spirit would firmly resolve upon awakening and doing penance for his heavy sins before black death come to it, if he knew of its coming.]

The inevitability of death and the need to keep watch by doing good deeds follows on naturally in ll. 105-09 and is understood in Bede and Haymo, while Ælfric makes of it an explicit exhortation.

The next verse of the pericope, Matthew 24. 44, is almost identical in content and wording to Matthew 24. 42, already expounded at the beginning of the homily, the only changes being that 'vigilate ergo' is altered to 'ideo et vos estote parati' and 'Dominus vester' to 'Filius hominis'. As Ælfric has already explained the spiritual meaning in connection with 24. 42, he therefore concentrates here on the literal level of meaning: he simply reiterates the need to be ready for death in a more sermon-like manner than those texts which he seems to have been consulting and stresses our ignorance of when Christ 'us wile habban to him / of ðyssere yrmðe to ecere myrhðe' [wishes to gather us to him, from this misery to eternal happiness] (ll. 110-23). He also adds an explanation of 'Filius hominis' which is commonplace in his work (ll. 117-19).³⁰

Lines 124-26 translate Matthew 24. 45, followed by what seems to be Ælfric's own comment on the literal meaning, which is slightly tangential to the pericope, in which it is the lord's servant who is to give food to the household:

Ælcum hlaforde gedafenap, ðæt he do his mannum
symle heora bigleofan on gesettum timan.

(ll. 127-28)

[It befits every master that he should always give his people their food at set times.]

The provision of material food is, however, swept aside in favour of the spiritual

understanding, which again relegates the laity to the passive role of having to be provided for by the clergy:

Ac se hælend mænde þone gastlican mete,
þa halgan lare, ðe ge men behofiað
eowrum sawlum to bigleofan, þa ge sceolon gehyran
æt eowrum lareowum, swa swa hi leorniaþ on bocum.

(ll. 129-32)

[But the Saviour meant the spiritual food, the holy teaching which you people need to nourish your souls, which you must hear from your teachers as they learn in books.]

This spiritual interpretation in ll. 129-50 probably relies on Bede's exegesis of the very similar passage in Luke 12. 42 ('Quis, putas, est fidelis dispensator, et prudens, quem constituit Dominus supra familiam suam, ut det illis in tempore tritici mensuram?' [Who then is the faithful and wise steward, whom his master will set over his household, to give them their portion of food at the proper time?]). Bede interprets the food as the words of teachers,³¹ as Ælfric does, although Ælfric's exegesis is much more basic than Bede's and is adapted to the homiletic context of the address to a general congregation on the feast of a confessor. Whereas Bede discusses the suitability of the teaching for the type of audience, Ælfric is much more concerned with setting forth the role of the teacher and with supplying a blanket eulogy of whatever confessor whose feast it is:

swa swa þes halga wer *Ille* dyde, þe we wurðiað to dæg.
He dælde wislice on gewissum timan
þone gastlican mete godes hirede symle,
and he manega sawla mid his lare gestrynde
þam ælmihtigan gode, þe hine nu wurðiað.

(ll. 136-40)

[like the holy man *Ille* did, whom we honour today. He always wisely dispensed the spiritual food to God's household at certain times and he gained, with his teaching, many souls for Almighty God, who honour him now.]

The apostolic succession is briefly explained, validating as it does the preaching of

this text by a bishop who is in the direct line of succession from the apostles and the confessors who 'cyddon Godes lare, oð ðæt hit com to us' [made known God's law, until it came to us] (l. 147). The duty of the clergy to preach is stressed in a reminiscence (l. 150) of Christ's condemnation of the bad servant of Matthew 25. 26 ('Serve male, et piger' [Wicked and slothful servant]): the concern with teaching is one which permeates Ælfric's work and, while the impetus here may be from Bede, the development of the theme is very much a reflection of his own concerns. This urgent warning against being called 'yfele þeowan and unnytwyrdē' leads into the opposite, Christ's commendation of the good servant in the final verses of the pericope for the day. These verses, Matthew 24. 46-47, are again virtually identical to Luke 12. 43-44, and Ælfric's exegesis is again clearly influenced by Bede's Commentary on Luke:

Quanta inter bonos auditores et bonos doctores meritorum distantia tanta est et praemiorum. Hos enim adueniens cum uigilantes inuenerit faciet discumbere et transiens ministrabit eis. Illos autem cum uerbi annonam familiae sibi creditae fideliter prudenterque dispensantes inuenerit supra omnia quae possidet constituet, id est supra omnia caelestis regni gaudia, non utique ut horum soli dominium teneant sed ut eorum abundantius ceteris sanctis aeterna possessione fruantur . . . Et apostolus ait: Qui bene praesunt presbiteri duplici honore digni habeantur maxime qui laborant in uerbo et in doctrina.³²

[As great as is the difference between the merits of good pupils and good teachers, so great is the difference between their rewards. These, truly, whom he will have found watching when he came, he will make sit at table and passing by he will serve them. Those, however, whom he will have found faithfully and wisely dispensing the provisions of the word to the household entrusted to them, he will set over all he possesses, that is, over all the joys of the heavenly kingdom, not only that they alone may possess absolute ownership of these things, but that they may enjoy eternal possession of them, more abundantly than the other saints. And the apostle says: 'Let the elders who rule well be considered worthy of double honour, especially those who labour in preaching and teaching.]

The servant of these verses is again the teacher who will be set over the heavenly kingdom in greater honour than the unlearned, but Ælfric's enumeration of the ways in which the teachers have deserved this reward is very much his own:

Ða lareowas swincað swiðor þonne ða læwedan,
ge on heora þeowdome, þe hi gode þeowiað,
ge on heora gehealdsumnysse, þe hi healdan sceolon,
ge on þære boclican lare, þe hi bodian sceolon,
and bið for ði mare heora med mid gode.

(ll. 163-67)

[Teachers work harder than lay people, both in their divine service, in which they serve God, and in their chastity, which they have to preserve, and in the spiritual teaching, which they have to preach, and therefore their reward with God is greater.]

The responsibility and authority of this office prompt the remainder of this homily, which, indeed, can no longer be termed a homily: it now becomes a sermon on God's revenge:

We sceolon eow secgan and forsuwian ne durren,
hu se ælmihtiga god foroft gewrecð swiþe
his forsewennysse on forscyldegodum mannum,
and hwilon eac forberð, swa swa we on bocum rædaþ,
and læt ðam yfelum fyrst, þæt hi heora yfeles geswicon
and hine gladion mid godum weorcum.

(ll. 168-73)

[We must tell you and dare not be silent how Almighty God very often avenges himself fiercely on wicked people for their contempt of him and sometimes also refrains, as we read in books, and allows a respite to the evil, so that they may cease from their evil and delight him with good deeds.]

Ælfric gives a catalogue of exempla (Miriam, Moses's sister, King Ozias, Judas, Annanias and Saphira, Arius, Olympius, Adam, Cain, Saul, Solomon and the Jews): all offended against God, who took vengeance on them all, either

immediately or after a delay. The list of offenders, in including many who have already featured in Ælfric's work, has ramifications back through his career and can only have been compiled by Ælfric himself, who seems to have contrived a rather tenuous link in order to have the opportunity to tackle a subject on which he obviously had strong feelings. His sources here are either biblical or are those already used in his earlier treatment of these exempla.

The list begins with Miriam, struck with leprosy when she criticized God and Moses (Numbers 12. 1-16), and continues with another story in which leprosy is also the divine punishment, that of Ozias (Uzziah), who offended God by burning incense, a duty reserved for priests (2 Chronicles 26. 16-21). It was probably the similarity of punishment which prompted the second story, by the very common process of association. Ælfric continues with a mention of Judas, 'þe urne drihten belæwde' [who betrayed our Lord] (l. 190), taken from Matthew 27. 5, then with Annanias, 'þe on his agenum swicode' [who was deceitful about his property] (l. 192), and his wife Saphira, whose tale, from the Acts of the Apostles 5. 1-5, he had already recounted in *Catholic Homilies I*, xxii and xxvii. These biblical exempla are followed by two stories about heretics: those of Arius and Olympius. The story of Arius (ll. 195-99) is the passage which connects this homily with the roughly contemporaneous pastoral letters, Ælfric's first Latin and Old English letters for Wulfstan, and it had already been treated also in *Catholic Homilies I*, xx, and in Pope x, and mentioned in *Lives of Saints* xvi. His treatment of it here is very similar to that in *Catholic Homilies* and in Pope x, for which his sources seem to have been Rufinus, Book X, 1-14, and, probably, Haymo's *Historiae Sacrae Epitome*.³³ In Pope x the passage on Arius is followed directly by one on Olympius, burnt in his bath for speaking against the Trinity, and Ælfric does the same here, again with a very similar account which seems to be derived from Isidore's *Chronicon*.³⁴ In Pope neither of these stories occurs in the main sources for the homily.

Ælfric then moves (l. 213ff.) to those cases where God avenged himself after a long delay. Adam lived for 930 years after God promised him death (Genesis 5. 5) and Cain until the seventh generation (Genesis 4. 24).³⁵ Saul's offence against God had already been dealt with by Ælfric in *Catholic Homilies II*, iv (l. 179ff.) and in his *Lives of Saints* xviii, and he is drawing here on 1 Samuel 15. 1-11, and the Acts of the Apostles 13. 21. Solomon's sin (ll. 231-38) is based on 1 Kings 11 and the rebellion against Roboam (Rehoboam) on 1 Kings 12. 1-20. The Jews' sin in killing Christ, punished by the Romans, is the third sin in succession which God

waited forty years to avenge, and the repeated forty years may have served to associate these three events in Ælfric's memory. This passage is similar to Ælfric's account in *Catholic Homilies I*, xxviii and depends on Rufinus.³⁶ This catalogue of vengeance concludes with Ælfric generalising about God's vengeance on those who do not heed him; immediate, in order to set an example to others and in order that the sins be not increased, or delayed, to allow an opportunity for repentance (ll. 249-68). This leads on to a passage on the necessity for teachers and counsellors to restrain the foolish, with its notably narrow explanation of the necessity for teachers:

For ði synd witan gesette and wise lareowas,
þæt hi scelon styran stuntra manna anginne,
þæt, gif se dysega him ne ondræt his drihtnes yrre,
þæt he huru hæbbe her for worulde
woruldlice steore, þæt he ne forwurðe mid ealle,
gif nan steor ne gestilð his stuntnyse on ær.

(ll. 269-74)

[Counsellors and wise teachers are appointed in order that they have to correct the actions of foolish people so that, if the foolish man does not fear his Lord's anger, he should at least have an earthly discipline, so that he may not perish entirely, if no restraint stops his foolishness beforehand.]

Animal examples illustrating the necessity for fear (that of the lion who fears the white cock and the elephant who fears the mouse) complete the text:

Ælc ðing sceal habban sumne ege on his life,
ge furðon þa wildan deor, þe on wuda eardiaþ.
We rædaþ be þære leon, ðe is swa reðe deor,
þæt ðurh hyre grymetunge, þonne heo grædig bið,
þæt ða oðre deor, þe hyre stemne gehyrað,
þe mihton hire ætfleon þurh heora fota swiftnysse,
þæt hi beoð swa afyrhte, þæt hi fleon ne durren.
Ac swa þeah seo leo þone lytlan hanan
hyre ondræt, gif heo him on besyhð,
and ealra swiðost, gif se hana hwit bið.
Eac se micela ylp, þe ða modigan fearras

mid ealle ofbeat mid his egeslican nypele,
ondræt him forþearle, gif he gesihð ane mus,
ðeah ðe seo mus ne mage his micelnysse derian.

(ll. 275-88)

[Every creature must have some fear in its life, even the wild animals who live in the forest. We read about the lion who is such a fierce animal, that, because of its roaring when it is hungry, the other animals, who hear its voice and who could escape from it by flight, because of the swiftness of their feet, are so frightened that they dare not flee. But nevertheless the lion fears the little cock, if it sees it, and most of all, if the cock is white. The great elephant too, who completely kills the brave oxen with his terrifying trunk, is greatly afraid if he sees a mouse, although the mouse cannot injure his greatness.]

Both of these examples are found, as Cross has pointed out, in Ambrose's *Hexameron*, a text which Ælfric appears to have used as a source for his own *Hexameron*, in which he had already dwelt on the subject of elephants.³⁷ That discussion of the nature of elephants had concluded, regretfully, with 'we nellað na swiðor nu embe ðis spreca[n]' [we do not wish to talk any more about this now], an indication that he would return to the topic, as he does here.³⁸ Ælfric concludes by stressing the hierarchical ordering of the world, with some animals fearing others and all subject to man, who is subject to God.

This second part of the text, therefore, is devoted entirely to God's vengeance and it seems a little odd that the establishment of the superiority of teachers and the invocation of the tradition of the apostles should issue in the very single-minded Old Testament message of God's vengeance and descriptions of his punishments. One can imagine more inspiratory, positive applications of the office of confessor, particularly on a feast celebrating the achievements of such a figure. The need to fill out a text which, possibly because of a shortage of suitable source-material, would otherwise have been too short, is hardly an adequate explanation, as it totally fails to account for Ælfric's choice of subject-matter. While this may be explained partly by the pericope's warnings to prepare for death, which naturally bring with them the confessor's duty to prepare his people, this does not seem an entirely adequate reason for the way in which so much of the text is devoted to exempla illustrating the revenge which will be the inevitable result of disobedience to God's commands or of

any kind of disloyalty or treachery. Ælfric's tone, too, is strikingly insistent in this part of the text:

Ac we secgaþ swa þeah: Se ðe his scyppend gremað,
þæt hit bið gewrecen gewislice on him,
swa ær, swa lator, locahu god wylle,
buton he swa gesælig beo, þæt he hit sylf gebete
his agenes willes ær his geendunge.
God gewrecð his forsewennysse, swa swa we sædon ær,
hwilon ær, hwilon lator, locahu him gewyrð.

(ll. 251-55)

[But we say nevertheless: he who angers his creator, it will certainly be avenged on him, either earlier or later, however God wishes it, unless he is so fortunate that he voluntarily makes amends before his death. God will avenge contempt of him, as we said before, sometimes early, sometimes later, however it pleases him.]

Clearly, this was a moral which Ælfric was much concerned to hammer home, choosing to avail himself of the public platform offered by the opportunity to compose a homily for the bishop of Winchester to do so. If Æthelwold II of Winchester preached this text on the feast of a major saint, such as one of the Winchester confessor-saints, then it could well have reached a large audience of influential people.

Why, then, did Ælfric divert the homily into this course, electing to stress an angry, avenging God on a feast which should have been a joyful celebration? One possible explanation for this somewhat odd choice of topics is that it is in some way a response to a contemporary situation which disturbed him and we are fortunate that the text can be dated to within fairly narrow limits, as this allows us to look at the circumstances of the time for some elucidation of the problem. In Ælfric's later work, in particular, it is not difficult to find instances where his desire to address contemporary conditions seems in some way to disrupt the kind of smooth progression otherwise characteristic of his work. Malcolm Godden has pointed to passages in the *Lives of Saints* where Ælfric refers directly to contemporary evils: 'many of these comments and extrapolations spring exceedingly abruptly from the hagiographical narratives which are the main concern of the *Lives of Saints*

collection'.³⁹ Godden has also suggested that Ælfric's choice of texts, especially his Old Testament narratives, appears to be influenced by their 'relevance to contemporary troubles'.⁴⁰ The fragment *Wyrðwriteras*, too, deals with the policy of kings delegating military leadership to generals⁴¹ and has a clear contemporary application, either 'advocating the adoption of the policy of delegation or defending its continued implementation'⁴² and Pope homilies xiii and xiv denounce current evils. In Ælfric's later work, therefore, his willingness to allude to contemporary conditions, particularly those which he considered in need of correction, is conspicuous and these allusions are phrased in general terms, not naming particular individuals or events.

If this homily for the feast of a Confessor was written around 1007, as Fehr convincingly argues, then it coincides with a very troubled period in Anglo-Saxon political history.⁴³ The problems were such that they could not but have affected Ælfric as they seem to have involved his patron, Æthelmær, son of Æthelweard, his other main patron. Æthelmær, who founded Cerne Abbas and then, in 1005, Eynsham, of which Ælfric was the first abbot, seems in that year to have retired from the court, probably going to live at the monastery in Eynsham. Before this, from about 990 until 1005, he had been one of the most prominent noblemen at Æthelræd's court, but in 1005 and 1006, as Simon Keynes has shown, there was a major upheaval among the king's principal lay advisers. In 1006 the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that 'on þam ilcan geare wæs Wulfgeate ealle his ar ongenumen, and Wulfheah and Ufegeat wæron ablende, and Ælfelm ealdorman ofslagen' [In the same year Wulfgeat was deprived of all his possessions and Wulfheah and Ufegeat were blinded and Ealdorman Ælfelm slain].⁴⁴ Ælfelm, Wulfgeat and Wulfheah had all been important at court in the same period as Æthelmær and, like him, had been foremost among the king's advisers at a time when Æthelræd, despite his nickname, was surrounded by men of 'wisdom, loyalty and goodness'.⁴⁵ 'one cannot avoid the impression that during the 990s and early 1000s the king was surrounded by men of considerable calibre, many of whom turn out to have been closely associated with the advancement of the monastic cause'.⁴⁶ While it is possible that Æthelmær's retirement from the court was motivated solely by his desire to share in the monastic life of his new foundation, other explanations also suggest themselves: 'the coincidence in time between the apparent retirement of Ordulf and Æthelmær in 1005 and the alarming sequence of events in 1006 which left Wulfgeat disgraced, Ealdorman Ælfelm murdered and Wulfheah and Ufegeat blinded, is certainly remarkable – and one might be forgiven for suspecting that it is not entirely

fortuitous'.⁴⁷ The main result of the displacement of these noblemen in 1005 and 1006 was the rise to prominence of Eadric Streona (the epithet is glossed as *adquisitor* by Hemming of Worcester)⁴⁸ and his family and Keynes argues that 'one cannot avoid the inference that Eadric had effected a considerable coup at the expense of his colleagues'.⁴⁹ Florence of Worcester lays the blame for the death of Ælfelm on Eadric Streona, describing 'how the "dolosus et perfidius" [deceitful and treacherous] Eadric Streona devised a trap for Ealdorman Ælfelm by inviting him to a feast at Shrewsbury, and then arranged for him to be murdered while they were all out hunting in the forest'.⁵⁰ Shortly before these events, Eadric and his brothers had been coming to the fore at Æthelræd's court, having been 'present in strength at the meetings in 1005',⁵¹ though the connection between this and Æthelmær's withdrawal to Eynsham is unclear: 'one can but guess, however, whether they were taking advantage of the imminent retirement of Ordulf and Æthelmær to advance their own interests, or whether Ordulf and Æthelmær retired because they could not countenance the growing influence of Eadric and his family'.⁵² These changes in the king's advisers were the beginning of the downturn in Æthelræd's reign, leading to the disasters which characterised its last ten years. It does not take much imagination to judge the effect that these changed circumstances at court would have had on Ælfric, who could not have been indifferent to the fall from grace of his patron. Eadric's 'complicity in an assortment of murders, base stratagems and acts of treachery'⁵³ does not compare well to the piety of Æthelmær and what appears to have been the ousting of one by the other must have pained Ælfric deeply.

The way in which the pericope-exposition in the homily for the feast of a Confessor gives way to a sermon on God's vengeance, illustrated by a long catalogue of exempla, may well be connected with the events outlined above. The vengeance sermon is hardly a natural development from what has gone before and its somewhat forced and sudden introduction may be the sign of an extra-textual motivation prompting Ælfric's deflection from a straightforward homiletic exposition. He presumably would have been inhibited from commenting directly on what had been happening at court, as those to whom he would, it seems reasonable to assume, have objected were now at the centre of power there and his only recourse, therefore, would be the type of veiled, general warning that we find here. Examples of traitors and deceivers of all kinds – heretics, murderers, blasphemers, idol-worshippers – are accumulated, with the punishment meted out by God rehearsed in each case to make the point that no-one can evade his vengeance. Whereas in other texts he could directly castigate his contemporaries, because he is

objecting to, for example, English men going over to the Danes or to the lack of proper faith and morals, here his objection would have been against men who would have been central in government and could not, therefore, be voiced as openly. It may be fanciful to imagine that the concluding images – the white cock who frightens the cruel lion and the mouse who frightens the huge elephant – are intended as an image of his own role as preacher, but they certainly seem to offer a parallel: in one sense he is powerless to influence events, in another he is empowered, by virtue of his office, and can set out to make even the mighty fearful.

It could be argued that Assmann IV is not the only text in which Ælfric discusses divine punishment and that its occurrence as a theme elsewhere in his work undermines the interpretation put forward here.⁵⁴ Against this, however, it is possible to argue that, when Ælfric does, as here, passionately argue the case for God's intervention there is generally an immediate reason, although it cannot always be recovered precisely. His other main treatments of the theme are subtly different, and their individual emphases suggest that he employed it in response to varying circumstances. As early as *Catholic Homilies II*, xxviii Ælfric had been concerned about the problem of divine justice not always being in evidence: 'Ælc ðæra ðe hine onhefð bið geeadmet. and se ðe hine sylfne geeadmet. se bið ahafen; Ne bið þes cwyde na symle sona gefylled. on manna gesihðum. bið swa ðeah forwel oft. swa swa we on bocum gehwær rædað. þæt se ælmihtiga scyppend foroft ða ofermodan unðances geeadmette' [Each of those who exalt themselves will be humbled and he who humbles himself will be exalted. This saying is not always fulfilled immediately in the sight of men but nevertheless, as we read everywhere in books, it very often happens that the Almighty Creator humbles the proud against their will].⁵⁵ The exempla of God's vengeance on Nebuchadnezzar and Balthasar, with which he illustrates this comment, deal specifically with the proud and with the necessity for humility, however, and so are not strictly comparable with Assmann IV. In a long, later addition (c. 1005) to this homily, Ælfric adds the story of the Emperor Theodosius voluntarily submitting to the penance imposed by St Ambrose for commanding that the citizens of Thessalonica be killed. That Ælfric felt impelled to add this passage ten years after the composition of the homily suggests a particular reason and an obvious contemporary parallel to Theododius's command is Æthelræd's order that the Danes in England were to be killed on St Brice's Day. Again, this exemplum is appropriate to the homily to which it was added in its concern with pride and humility but its main emphasis is on how to forestall divine retribution by repentance and submission to ecclesiastical authorities. Ælfric's

inclusion of it could possibly have been intended, therefore, to 'catch the conscience of the king'. Whereas in Assmann IV Ælfric is concerned more to stress that God will always punish the evil, in this addition to *Catholic Homilies II*, xxviii the emphasis is on how to avert this punishment by timely penance, though both stress the important role of ecclesiastical teachers in very similar ways. The *Catholic Homilies* text, therefore, seems concerned to stimulate a change of heart in someone about whose spiritual welfare he was concerned, whereas the tone of Assmann IV suggests a situation in which Ælfric's main desire was to fulminate against someone or something.

The appendage to the life of St Alban in the *Lives of Saints* similarly deals with repentance and divine punishments and, as with Assmann IV, the topic is introduced out of the blue, having nothing to do with Alban and even being given a separate heading, *Item alia*. The subject of traitors and their fate clearly troubles Ælfric here and is the theme of the longest exemplum in the piece, on Absalom and Achitophel, and one gets a distinct impression of a personal agitation demanding expression in this strongly worded, abruptly introduced treatment of different kinds of betrayal. Again, it is hard to avoid the idea that the pressure of contemporary circumstances lies behind this striking outburst. As with Assmann IV, the force of Ælfric's passion signals a more than academic interest in the fate of those who betray their lords and Æthelræd's reign provides plenty of examples of such behaviour, even if one accepts Keynes's revisionist reading of the events of this period, which plays down the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's* catalogue of English disgraces.⁵⁶ The theme of divine retribution, therefore, is not confined to Assmann IV, but the other conspicuous instances of it seem to share with the Confessor homily both a force and a seeming digressiveness which act almost as a signal of Ælfric's personal and emotive response to contemporary circumstances.

Ælfric's second homily for the feast of a Confessor, therefore, with its dire warnings of the consequences of ill-doing offers us, I would argue, his reaction to events in the immediately preceding period, events which must have worried him greatly. The change half-way through the text to the roll-call of the guilty alerts us to the possibility that Ælfric had an agenda which was not directly connected to the need simply to meet Æthelwold II's request for a homily for the occasion and that agenda, it seems to me, is an urgent wish to make known his dismay and his opposition to recent developments. The text, therefore, is interesting not only as an example of Ælfric's procedure when asked to compose a homily for which he had few obvious sources, but also of the way in which he was able to use biblical stories

to censure obliquely some of his more powerful contemporaries, having validated his right to do so by establishing the authority and necessity of his office as preacher.

NOTES

¹ B. Assmann, *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligleben* (Kassel, 1889), repr. with a supplementary introduction by P. Clemoes (Darmstadt, 1964), pp. 49-64.

² Assmann, p. 49.

³ As is clear from his position in witness lists; see S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'The Unready' 978-1016* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 156, n. 8 and Table 3.

⁴ B. Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics in altenglischer und lateinscher Fassung* (Hamburg, 1914), repr. with a supplementary introduction by P. Clemoes (Darmstadt, 1966), p. LI.

⁵ Fehr, pp. L-LI.

⁶ Fehr, p. LI.

⁷ See P. A. M. Clemoes, 'The Chronology of Ælfric's Work' in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of their History and Culture Presented to Bruce Dickins* (London, 1959), pp. 212-47 (at 234); *Homilies of Ælfric. A Supplementary Collection*, ed. J. Pope, 2 vols., EETS os 259, 260 (Oxford, 1967-68), p. 61; *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The Second Series. Text*, ed. M. Godden, EETS ss 5 (Oxford, 1979), p. lxxxix.

⁸ *Catholic Homilies II*, ed. Godden, pp. 318-26.

⁹ K. Sisam, 'MSS Bodley 340 and 342: Ælfric's Catholic Homilies', in *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford, 1953), pp. 148-98 (at 176, n. 4).

¹⁰ *The Missal of the New Minster, Winchester*, ed. D. H. Turner, HBS 93 (London, 1962), pp. 201-02.

¹¹ P. Clemoes, 'The Chronology of Ælfric's Work', p. 220, n. 3.

¹² R. Grégoire, *Les Homéliaires du Moyen Age*, *Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta Series Maior Fontes*, 6 (Rome, 1966), pp. 108-09.

¹³ *PL* 118, 781-90.

¹⁴ *PL* 102, 532-34.

¹⁵ *PL* 94, 470-01.

¹⁶ Jerome, *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei*, ed. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen, CCSL 77 (Turnhout, 1969), IV, ll. 652-60 and Bede, *Commentarius in Marcum*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 120 (Turnhout, 1960), pp. 603-04, ll. 341-66.

¹⁷ See *Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. Pope, I, 159-60 and 170.

¹⁸ See Pope, I, 159-60.

¹⁹ *PL* 118, 785-90.

²⁰ *PL* 102, 538-40.

²¹ See my 'Hermits and the Contemplative Life in Anglo-Saxon England' in *Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts*, ed. P. Szarmach (Binghamton, forthcoming).

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- 22 *Catholic Homilies* II, ed. Godden, p. 260 and p. 110.
- 23 See *Die angelsächsischen Prosabearbeitungen der Benediktinerregel*, ed. A. Schrör, 2nd ed. with a supplement by H. Gneuss (Darmstadt, 1964), Ch. XVI and XVIII (pp. 40-44).
- 24 *Catholic Homilies* II, ed. Godden, p. 261, ll. 35-37.
- 25 *Commentarius in Marcum*, p. 604, ll. 358-65.
- 26 Bede, *Commentarius in Lucam*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 120 (Turnhout, 1960), p. 257, ll. 1039-48.
- 27 Bede, *Commentarius in Lucam*, p. 257, ll. 1060-66.
- 28 Bede, *Commentarius in Lucam*, p. 257, ll. 1056-60.
- 29 *PL* 118, 789-90.
- 30 For other examples see *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church. The First Part, Containing the Sermones Catholici, or Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. B. Thorpe (London, 1843), p. 49; *Catholic Homilies* II, ed. Godden, p. 106 and p. 386; and *Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. Pope, II, 487.
- 31 *Commentarius in Lucam*, pp. 258-59, ll. 1106-14.
- 32 *Commentarius in Lucam*, p. 259, ll. 1117-29.
- 33 *Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. Pope, pp. 394-95.
- 34 *Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. Pope, p. 395.
- 35 This interpretation of Genesis 4. 24 depends on a common exegesis found, for example, in Bede's *Commentarius in Genesim*, ed. C. W. Jones, CCSL 118A (Turnhout, 1967), p. 90, ll. 620-26.
- 36 *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. T. Mommsen in *Eusebius Werke* II, i (Leipzig, 1903), II, 5-6.
- 37 J. E. Cross, 'The Elephant to Alfred, Ælfric, Aldhelm and Others', *Studia Neophilologia*, 37 (1965), 367-73 (at 373); *Ambrosii Hexameron*, ed. K. Schenkl, CSEL 32.1 (Vienna, 1897), VI, iv-vi.
- 38 *Exameron Anglice*, ed. S. J. Crawford, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, X (Hamburg, 1921), I. 296.
- 39 M. Godden, 'Ælfric's Saints' Lives and the Problem of Miracles', *Leeds Studies in English* ns 16 (1985), 83-100 (at 97).
- 40 'Ælfric's Saints' Lives and the Problem of Miracles', p. 95.
- 41 *Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. Pope, II, xxii, pp. 725-33.
- 42 Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred*, p. 207.
- 43 For an outline of events in 1006-07, see Keynes, pp. 209-14, and B. Yorke, 'Æthelmær: the Foundation of the Abbey at Cerne and the Politics of the Tenth Century', *The Cerne Abbey Millennium Lectures*, ed. K. Barker (Cerne Abbey, 1988).
- 44 Quoted by Keynes, p. 210, from MS C.
- 45 Keynes, p. 193.

⁴⁶ Keynes, p. 189.

⁴⁷ Keynes, p. 211.

⁴⁸ Keynes, p. 214.

⁴⁹ Keynes, p. 214.

⁵⁰ Keynes, p. 211.

⁵¹ Keynes, p. 213.

⁵² Keynes, p. 213.

⁵³ Keynes, p. 214.

⁵⁴ I am most grateful to Professor Malcolm Godden for bringing the following passages to my attention.

⁵⁵ ed. Godden, p. 252, ll. 92-96.

⁵⁶ See S. Keynes, 'A Tale of Two Kings: Alfred the Great and Æthelræd the Unready', *TRHS*, fifth series, 36 (1986), 195-217.

Stress of Quantitative Adjectives and Some Common Adverbs in Old English Poetry: An Alternative to Kuhn's Law¹

B. R. Hutcheson

Since 1933, when Hans Kuhn's article 'Zur Wortstellung und -betonung im Altgermanischen' appeared,² several scholars have fastened on Kuhn's laws as infallible rules for determining stress of finite verbs, quantitative adjectives, and certain adverbs in Old English poetry.³ Recently, however, other scholars have questioned the utility of Kuhn's laws in determining stress.⁴ Considering that Kuhn's law of sentence particles is increasingly being viewed as problematic by Old English metrists,⁵ it now seems necessary to develop alternative methods for determining stress on Kuhn's *Satzpartikeln* in Old English poetry. What I hope to demonstrate in this article is that the presence or absence of alliteration is a far more reliable method than Kuhn's laws for determining stress on certain *Satzpartikeln* in Old English poetry – namely, indefinite adjectives of quantity and certain commonly occurring adverbs.⁶ First, however, a brief review of Kuhn's formulations is necessary.

Kuhn defines *Satzpartikeln*⁷ as 'substant. Pronomina, viele Adverbien und finite Verben, Bindewörter, zum Teil auch adjekt. Pronomina, gelegentlich infinite Verbformen und Prädikatsnomina, vielleicht auch Vokative' (p. 5).⁸ The quantitative adjectives are presumably included under the category 'adjectival pronouns',⁹ but note that he only includes these 'zum Teil', that is, in part.

Kuhn's first law of sentence particles, with which I shall be concerned in this article, is: 'Die Satzpartikeln stehen in der ersten Senkung des Satzes, in der Proklise entweder zu seinem ersten oder zweiten betonten Worte' (p. 9).¹⁰ Hence Kuhn's law makes it clear that *Satzpartikeln* by definition must fall 'in the first dip of the clause';¹¹ in fact, Kuhn does not regard words that can be *Satzpartikeln* but that are not placed according to his first law as *Satzpartikeln* at all.¹²

As I have emphasized elsewhere, Kuhn's laws do not provide sound criteria for determining stress levels of words in Old English verse.¹³ Furthermore, Kuhn himself plainly did not intend his laws to be used for determining stress; rather, his laws merely describe the placement of *Satzpartikeln* in the clause. Kuhn's law states that *Satzpartikeln* will be placed at the head of the clause, in which position they will usually – *but not always* – be unstressed. Violations of Kuhn's law occur when an unstressed *Satzpartikel* occurs outside of the positions allowed by the law (if the *Satzpartikel* is stressed in a position not allowed by the law, Kuhn regards it not as a *Satzpartikel* but as a *betontes Wort*). The present paper, therefore, does not oppose the position taken by Kuhn himself (though even Kuhn's own analysis is sometimes questionable); rather, it opposes the position of later scholars, most notably Bliss, Slay, Kendall, and Lucas, who put Kuhn's law to uses for which it was never intended by its author.¹⁴

The kinds of words listed as *Satzpartikeln* in Kuhn's article, moreover, do not always follow the same stress rules. Quantitative adjectives, for example, often bear functional alliteration, and are accordingly often stressed, while relative, interrogative, and personal pronouns, and subordinating and other conjunctions, are rarely if ever stressed, and almost never bear functional alliteration. Since Kuhn's term '*Satzpartikeln*' is in several respects an unsound classification, it seems best to consider the different types of words that Kuhn lists as *Satzpartikeln* separately, and perhaps to abandon the term '*Satzpartikel*' entirely.

The indefinite adjectives of quantity, since they are relatively few in number and occur quite frequently, provide a solid statistical basis for an examination of their stress patterns in Old English poetry, as do certain adverbs.¹⁵ Because many adverbs do not occur often enough in the poetry to provide sufficient evidence for generalizations about their stress levels, I have chosen to examine adverbs that occur more frequently than most. The adverbs that occur most frequently in Old English poetry are temporal and directional adverbs, and I have selected *oft*, *ær*, *ut*, *sona*, and *hraðe*.¹⁶ The quantitative adjectives that I shall examine are: *ænig*, *nænig*, *manig*, *fea*, *fela*, *sum*, and *eall*.¹⁷ My corpus will be *Beowulf* (*Beo*), *The Battle of Maldon* (*Mald*), *The Dream of the Rood* (*Dream*), and the following Chronicle poems: *The Battle of Brunanburh* (*Brun*), *The Capture of the Five Boroughs* (*Capt*), *The Coronation of Edgar* (*CEdg*), *The Death of Edgar* (*DEdg*), *The Death of Edward* (*DEdw*), and *Durham* (*Dur*).¹⁸

While there is a general scholarly consensus that qualitative adjectives should be regarded as what I have elsewhere called Class A words and always stressed,¹⁹

as opposed to indefinite quantitative adjectives, which are sometimes stressed and sometimes not, there is no such clearcut distinction for adverbs. In fact, however, these frequently occurring temporal and directional adverbs are stressed differently from other types of adverbs, such as most adverbs of manner. Adverbs of manner formed from qualitative adjectives are Class A words, like the adjectives from which they are derived.

Space does not permit a thoroughly detailed investigation of each of the twelve words under consideration. In what follows, therefore, I shall examine the various words by observing the different positions in the line in which they occur. Where a given word is attested in a given position, I shall attempt to give examples. Absence of one of the twelve words under discussion from the examples for a given position, therefore, should be taken to indicate that that particular word is unattested in that position in the present corpus.

Because the strictures on alliteration are more clearly articulated for the off-verse than for the on-verse, off-verse attestations are more defining for purposes of stress. It is a well-known metrical rule for Old English poetry that the first stress of the off-verse must alliterate and that any subsequent stress cannot alliterate. In the off-verse, therefore, we know that any word that precedes the first alliterating Class A word of the verse cannot be stressed, and we also know that any stressed word that follows the first alliterating stress cannot alliterate. I accordingly begin with the positions in the off-verse in which the adjectives and adverbs to be considered may occur.

The first position in which these words may occur is before the first stress of the off-verse. Clearly, any word that is placed in a clause-initial dip, precedes the first lift of the verse, and does not alliterate is unstressed, even by Kuhn's criteria.²⁰ Six of the words presently under discussion occur in this position:²¹

- Beo* 1353 næfne he wæs mara þone ænig man oðer;
Beo 1079 morþorbealo maga, þær heo ær mæste heold
Dream 6 beama beorhtost. Eall þæt beacen wæs
Beo 929 lungre gelimpe! Fela ic laþes gebad,
Mald 212 Gemunan þa mæla þe we oft æt meodo spræcon,
Beo 1113 wundum awyrdded; sume on wæle crungon.

Since these words are placed in accordance with Kuhn's law and do not alliterate, there can be no doubt whatsoever that they are unstressed.

In certain other similar verses, however, the word alliterates:

Beo 534 *earfeþo* on *yþum*, *ðonne ænig oðer* man.

Beo 2861 *eðbegete þam ðe ær* his *elne* forleas.

Beo 1238 *unrim eorla*, swa he *oft ær* dydon.

Beo 1251 *Sigon þa* to slæpe. *Sum* sare angeald

These five instances of alliteration must be regarded as accidental,²² for the italicized adjective or adverb in each precedes the first stress of the verse; it is also important to note that in all five cases, the word is in a clause-initial dip.

The similarity of the first of these verses to *Beo* 1353 above is noteworthy. In *Beo* 534, needing to alliterate on a vowel, the poet places the quantitative adjective *ænig* before the quantitative adjective *oðer* in the first dip of the verse clause. Since *oðer* must be stressed,²³ *ænig* must not be, or the off-verse would have double alliteration.²⁴ In *Beo* 1353, needing to alliterate on <m>, the poet merely switches the position of *oðer* and *man*; *ænig*, of course, remains in the initial dip.

In *Beo* 2861, the noun *elne* quite naturally takes precedence over the temporal adverb *ær*;²⁵ in *Beo* 1251, the noun *sare* alliterates in preference to the quantitative adjective *sum*. *Beo* 1238 is problematic, for here too either of the two adverbs could perhaps be stressed without breaking Kuhn's law.²⁶ Probably *ænig* in *Beo* 534 and *oft* in *Beo* 1238 should simply be viewed as proclitic to *oðer* and *ær* respectively and hence unstressed.²⁷

There are also three verses with *eall* in this position in which Kuhn's law does not apply:

Dream 12, 82 *men ofer moldan*, ond *eall* þeos *mære* gesceaft.

Dream 94 *geweorþode ofer eall* wifa cynn.

Here *eall* is placed in the attributive position, and is therefore not a *Satzpartikel* but a *Satzteilpartikel*, according to Kuhn.²⁸

The second off-verse position – a position in which all twelve words occur – is as the first lift of the verse. Often such words are displaced from the first dip of the clause, and thus do not come under the operation of Kuhn's law:

Beo 2548 *unbyrnende ænige* hwile

Mald 198 Swa him Offa on dæg *ær* asæde

CEdg 6 on þam eadgan dæge *eallum* geworden,
Beo 1081 Finnes þegnas nemne *feaum* anum,²⁹
Beo 153 fyrene ond fæhðe *fela* missera,
Beo 1390 Aris, rices weard, uton {*h*}*raþe* feran³⁰
Dream 99 for mancynnes *manegum* synnum
Beo 2867 þonne he on ealubence *oft* gesealde
Beo 1583 ond oðer swylc *ut* offerede,

Note that in many of these verses, the quantitative adjectives are in the attributive position, a position in which Slay asserts they should not normally be stressed (p. 2).

In an almost equal number of cases, however, words in this position are not displaced from the first dip of their clauses:

Beo 932 Ðæt wæs ungeara þæt ic *ænigra* me
DEdg 6 in ðisse eðeltyrf, þa þe *ær* wæran
Dream 58 to þam æðeling. Ic þæt *eall* beheold.
Beo 992 folmum gefrætwood. *Fela* þæra wæs,
Beo 724 recedes muþan. *Raþe* æfter þon
Beo 1576 hilderince, ac he *hraþe* wolde
Beo 949 niwe sibbe. Ne bið þe [*n*]*ænigra* gad³¹
Beo 444 etan unforhte, swa he *oft* dyde,
Beo 2300 sincfæt sohte. He þæt *sona* onfand
Beo 3106 ædre geæfned, þonne we *ut* cymen,

All these instances conform to Kuhn's law;³² since, however, Kuhn's law would allow the *Satzpartikeln* to be unstressed in this position, the only indicator that they are stressed is their alliteration.

Another common position in which these words may occur is verse finally; all of the words under consideration except *fea* occur in this position in the present corpus:

Beo 842 sarlic þuhte secga *ænegum*
Dream 154 and eallum ðam halgum þam þe on heofenum *ær*
Beo 649 oþðe nipende niht ofer *ealle*
Beo 36 mærne be mæste. þær wæs madma *fela*

- Mald* 30 heton ðe secgan þæt þu most sendan *raðe*
Beo 838 ymb þa gifhealle guðrinc *monig*;
Beo 242 þe on land Dena laðra *nænig*
Brun 8 fram cneomagum, þæt hi æt campe *oft*
Beo 1825 guðgeweorca, ic beo gearo *sona*.
Beo 248 eorla ofer eorþan, ðonne is eower *sum*,
Beo 537 on geogoðfeore) þæt wit on garsecg *ut*

Here there is compelling evidence that the words in this position are stressed: they almost never alliterate.³³ This observation provides a sound rationale for regarding these words as stressed when line final.

The fourth and last off-verse position in which the adjectives and adverbs under discussion occur is immediately following the alliterator for the line (but not line-finally). Six of the words presently under consideration are attested in this position in the corpus for this study. Representative examples of this placement are:

- Beo* 1615 since fage. Sweord *ær* gemealt,
Beo 2973 ac he him on heafde helm *ær* gescer,
Beo 1080 worolde wynne. Wig *ealle* fornam
Beo 2794 Ic ðæra frætwa frean *ealles* ðanc,
Beo 171 modes brecða. Monig *oft* gesæt
Beo 1065 gomenwudu greted, gid *oft* wrecen,
Mald 282 Sibyrhtes broðor and swiðe *manig* oper
Brun 35 cread cnear on flot, cyning *ut* gewat
Beo 2551 Wedergeata leod word *ut* faran,
Beo 721 dreamum bedæled. Duru *sona* onarn.
Beo 121 grim ond grædig, gearo *sona* wæs,

When possible, I have given two examples of the words in this position: in the first, the word stands in the first dip of its clause (i.e., is placed according to Kuhn's law); in the second, it stands in a position not permitted by Kuhn's law. When placed in the first dip, these adjectives and adverbs could be regarded as unstressed according to Kuhn's law.³⁴ In the unpermissible positions, according to Kuhn's law, the words must be stressed, for they are displaced from the first dip of the clause, and thus, for Kuhn, are not *Satzpartikeln* but *betonte Wörter*.

Fortunately, there is one sound criterion for determining stress on all these

words: the argument from accidental alliteration. If the quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs that are placed immediately following a verse-initial stress are unstressed, we should expect about ten percent to have accidental alliteration;³⁵ in fact, however, not a single one of the approximately 206 adjectives and adverbs of the type presently under consideration in this position in the corpus for this study alliterates.³⁶ This is strong evidence for regarding them as stressed. Note that with these words stressed, the verses have three primary stresses, and that most of these verses conclude with a finite verb.³⁷

There is, however, one line in the present corpus in which stress on the quantitative adjective would produce unmetrical double alliteration in the off-verse:

Mald 271 æfre embe stunde he sealde sume wunde,

Here Kuhn's law is broken whether or not *sume* is stressed: with *sume* stressed, *he* and *sealde* are *Satzpartikeln* not placed in the clause-initial dip; with *sume* unstressed, *sume* and *he* would break the law. This verse is, moreover, anomalous in its alliteration; the cluster *st* usually only alliterates with itself. There is, furthermore, no logical emendation or repunctuation that would make this verse conform to the law, or that would clarify which of the two alliterating particles to stress.³⁸

In the on-verse, on the other hand, due to the possibility of double alliteration, there are far more possible placements of the words presently under discussion. In certain of these placements, however, the stress on the word is unambiguous. *Ænig*, *eall*, *hraðe*, and *manig*, for example, occur as the only stressed and the only alliterating word in the line:

Mald 70 Ne mihte hyra *ænig* oþrum derian,

Dream 110 Ne mæg þær *ænig* unforht wesan

Beo 941 ðe we *ealle* ær ne meahton

Mald 207 hi woldon þa *ealle* oðer twega,

Beo 1541 Heo him eft *hrape* {h}andlean forgeald³⁹

Beo 2982 Ða wæron *monige* þe his mæg wriðon,

Mald 243 þæt he her swa *manigne* man aflymde!

Here the alliteration demonstrates that the words are undoubtedly stressed.⁴⁰

As in the off-verse, many of the words under consideration occur verse finally

and do not alliterate:

- Beo* 474 *gumena ængum* hwæt me Grendel hafað
DEdw 16 þeah he lange *ær*, lande bereafod,
Beo 591 þæt næfre Gre[n]del swa *fela* gryra gefremede,
Mald 73 wicinga *fela*, wiges georne.
Beo 740 ac he gefeng *hraðe* forman siðe
Beo 854 swylce geong *manig* of gomenwape
Beo 1235 eorla *manegum*, syððan æfen cwom
Mald 188 þe him *mænigne oft* mear gesealde;
Mald 149 Forlet þa drenga *sum* daroð of handa,

Those adjectives and adverbs in this position that occur in clause-initial half-lines are not placed in the first dips of their clauses; obviously, neither are those that are placed in clause non-initial verses. According to Kuhn's law, these must be stressed.⁴¹ We may also regard these words as stressed by analogy to verse-final words in the off-verse (in which position the lack of accidental alliteration demonstrates that they are stressed).⁴²

Seven of the twelve words under discussion occur as the only alliterating word of two stressed words in the verse:

- Beo* 655 Næfre ic *ænegum* men ær alyfde,⁴³
Beo 2500 þæt mec *ær* ond sið oft gelæste.
Beo 1608 þæt hit *eal* gemealt ise gelicost,
Mald 188 þe him *mænigne oft* mear gesealde;
Beo 3116 þone ðe *oft* gebad isernscure,
Beo 1412 He *feara* sum beforan gengde
Beo 2081 No ðy ær *ut* ða gen idelhende⁴⁴

Once again, the alliteration demonstrates that the words are stressed.

Most of the twelve words occur as the first alliterating stress of two alliterating stresses:

- Beo* 802 *ænig* ofer eorþan irenna cyst,
Beo 616 *ærest* Eastdena eþelwearde,
DEdw 13 ðæt *eall* Eadwarde, æðelum kinge,

Beo 705 *ealle* buton anum. þæt wæs yldum cup

Beo 164 Swa *fela* fyrena feond mancynnes,

Beo 2266 *fela* feorhcynna forð onsended!

Beo 1914 *Hraþe* wæs æt holme hyðweard geara,

Beo 5 *monegum* mægþum, meodosetla ofteah,

Beo 3077 *Oft* sceall eorl monig anes willan

Beo 1885 *oft* geæhted; þæt wæs an cyning,

Beo 1591 *Sona* þæt gesawon snottre ceorlas,⁴⁵

Beo 713 *sumne* besyrwan in sele þam hean.

In some of these verses, the words are displaced from the first dip of the clause, and must be stressed according to Kuhn's law. In others, however, they are not, and would presumably be unstressed by, for example, Kendall and Lucas (see note 45, e.g.). Yet alliteration argues for their being stressed, and this, I suggest, is how we should regard them, for the alliteration rate of these when compared to similar placements that do not alliterate is far too high to be accidental.⁴⁶ In *DEd* 13 and *Beo* 3077, on the other hand, a more usual metrical contour emerges from treating the words as unstressed, and unstressed words would satisfy Kuhn's law;⁴⁷ nevertheless, stressed words in these lines would produce attested metrical types as well.⁴⁸ It is, however, noteworthy that the alliteration in both these verses is on a vowel, and since vowels are the most common initial sounds in Old English, the alliteration in these two verses might be accidental.⁴⁹

A number of these adjectives and adverbs occur as the second of two alliterating and stressed words:

Beo 2772 onsyn *ænig*, ac hyne ecg fornam.

Beo 642 þa wæs eft swa *ær* inne on healle

Beo 1187 umborwesendum *ær* arna gefremedon.

Beo 145 ana wið *eallum*, oðþæt idel stod

Beo 2268 an æfter *eallum*, unbliðe hwe[arf]

Beo 991 Ða wæs haten *hreþe* Heort innanweard

Beo 41 madma *mænigo*, þa him mid scoldon

Beo 776 medubenc *monig*, mine gefræge,

The words are undoubtedly stressed in this position.

Two words occur before the first of two alliterating stresses:

Beo 4 *Oft* Scyld Scefing sceapena þreatum,

Beo 2160 no ðy ær suna sinum syllan wolde,

Dream 118 þe him ær in breostum bereð beacna selest,

Since the verses already have two stresses, and the adverbs do not alliterate, there can be no justification for stressing the adverbs in this position.

Somewhat more problematic are the quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs that are placed before the first and only alliterating stress in the verse:

Beo 2373 No ðy ær feasceaft findan meahton

Beo 2466 no ðy ær he þone heaðorinc hatian ne meahte

Dream 154 ond eallum ðam halgum þam þe on heofenum ær

Beo 2426 *Fela* ic on giogoðe guðræsa genæs,

Beo 691 *Nænig* heora þohte, þæt he þanon scolde

Beo 1247 þæt hie *oft* wæron an wig gearwe,

Beo 2928 *Sona* him se froda fæder Ohteres,

Mald 164a To *raþe* hine gelette lidmanna sum,

Historically, many metrists have regarded some of the adjectives and adverbs in these lines as stressed – largely because they were dedicated to the two-stress-per-verse theory – but if alliteration is the primary criterion for determining stress, then we should regard them as unstressed (as do Bliss and Hoover, for example). Towards the end of this article, I shall enumerate some strong reasons for regarding such words as these as unstressed; for now, I present a single telling argument in favour of regarding *Satzpartikeln* as unstressed when they precede the first alliterator: if non-alliterating words can occupy the first lift of the line, we should expect non-alliterating Class A words to occur in this position regularly. In fact, however, this happens so infrequently that most editors have regarded such lines as corrupt.⁵⁰ Surely it would be stretching credibility too far to say that the first lift of a line can be a word that does not alliterate if and only if it is a member of a class of words that are unequivocally unstressed in other metrical environments.

There is a single on-verse occurrence of a temporal adverb that is problematic:

Beo 2081 No ðy ær ut ða gen idelhende

Here the metrical contour that emerges with *ær* unstressed is xxx/x, a very common metrical pattern. But it alliterates; according to the precepts set out above, alliteration should raise it to stressed status. Considering the similarity between this verse and *Beo* 2160, 2373, and 2466 (above), however, and because there is an off-verse precedent for regarding these words as having accidental alliteration when placed before the first stress of the line, it is very likely that alliteration on *ær* in this verse is accidental, and that *ær* is unstressed.⁵¹ The possibility does, however, remain that *ær* in *Beo* 2081 is stressed because it alliterates.

Finally, a single adverb occurs between two stresses in the line:

Mald 72 Se flod ut gewat; þa flotan stodon gearowe,

I regard this word as stressed by analogy to the similar placement in the off-verse.

A close survey of the different adjectives and adverbs under consideration reveals that there is a hierarchy of sorts that determines stress patterns in Old English poetry.⁵² Thus, for example, *fea* is always stressed; *ut* is almost always stressed,⁵³ and is stressed in preference to other alliterating temporal and directional adverbs, like *ær*, which is never stressed in preference to any other alliterating adverb, but does alliterate in preference to other words in Kuhn's list of *Satzpartikeln*. Moreover, while the words presently under consideration usually do not alliterate in preference to a Class A word, like a noun, they sometimes do;⁵⁴ some, like *ut*, show a greater tendency than others to do so. Lexical finite verbs show a greater propensity to alliterate and bear stress than the adverbs and adjectives presently being considered, as is shown by their almost never accidentally alliterating.

According to Kendall's interpretation of Kuhn's law, verses containing no Class A words (i.e., nouns, qualitative adjectives, non-finite verb forms,⁵⁵ etc.) that are not clause-initial should contain at most two of Kuhn's *Satzpartikeln*, or else these verses would acquire more than two stresses ('Metrical Grammar', pp. 16-17). This is indeed the case, but it is hardly surprising; it is merely a kind of corollary to Kuhn's law, which says that *Satzpartikeln* will gather at the heads of clauses. That clause non-initial verses never contain more than two of Kuhn's *Satzpartikeln* is merely a syntactic fact about Old English poetry, not a rule of the 'metrical grammar'.⁵⁶

What is noteworthy is the number of verses with stressed quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs in which no Class A words appear. Of the 211 verses with stressed and alliterating adjectives and adverbs of the kinds

that I have discussed above, 116 consist solely of Kuhn's *Satzpartikeln*, or about 54 percent (see Table I below). In clause-initial verses, these words are far more likely to alliterate in preference to other words that fall into Kuhn's *Satzpartikel* category than in preference to Class A words. This is true to a lesser extent for clause non-initial verses; for these, the word usually alliterates along with a Class A word in the on-verse, while in the off-verse the proportion of words that alliterate in preference over a Class A word to those that do not is about equal.⁵⁷ The following table charts the distribution of the twelve words presently under consideration.⁵⁸

Table I: Stressed alliterating quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs

	on verse			off-verse		Tot.
	A	B	C	D	E	
	in pref.	not pref.	along w/	in pref.	not pref.	
In clause-initial verses	1	21	8/0	17	59	106
In clause non-initial verses	0	1	25/10	35	35	107
Total	1 (.5%)	22 (10%)	43 (20%)	52 (25%)	94 (45%)	213

Comments: The single attestation in column A is *Beo* 655a, 'Næfre ic ænegum men' (note that Kuhn would have probably regarded *ænegum* not as a *Satzpartikel* but as a *Satzteilpartikel* in this verse). The single attestation in column B is *Beo* 2091a. The eight attestations in column C are: *Beo* 164a, 1618a, 1794a, 1914a, 1975a, 3077a; *DEdw* 13a; *Mald* 288a.⁵⁹

As the table shows, these adjectives and adverbs are not as likely to be placed in clause-initial verses as Kuhn's law would imply.⁶⁰ It does, however, create a somewhat false picture to lump all of the adjectives and adverbs discussed above together in the same table, for among some of these words there is a great disparity of distribution, as I have indicated.

It is also worth noting that in neither clause-initial nor clause non-initial verses are the words in question likely to alliterate in preference to Class A words in the on-

verse, though they are free to do so in the off-verse, and that in clause-initial verses these words are far more likely to alliterate in verses that contain no Class A words (columns B and E) than in verses that do contain Class A words (columns C and D), though the same is not true for clause non-initial verses.

In the preceding pages, I have argued that all of these alliterating quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs should be stressed *because they alliterate*. As we have seen, Kuhn's law, as he himself formulates it, does not provide any grounds for determining stress on quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs that are placed before the first Class A word in the clause, for Kuhn sometimes stresses such words and sometimes not (see note 26). Kuhn's law also does not help, moreover, in any of the clause-initial verses with a quantitative adjective or temporal or directional adverb immediately following the first stress, such as *Beo* 215b, 'guman ut scufon', where, according to the law, the word could be unstressed. Kuhn's law, then, is only useful for determining stress patterns in verses that contain two alliterating *Satzpartikeln*, and then only marginally due to the vagueness of his formulations.

In fact, we can formulate a much more straightforward rule to cover this situation:⁶¹ when two quantitative adjectives or temporal or directional adverbs alliterate in the off-verse, the first of the two is not stressed; when two such words alliterate in the on-verse, both are stressed. That unmetrical triple alliteration in the on-verse is never produced by the application of this rule is strong evidence in its favour.

The most useful criterion in determining stress is alliteration. As we have seen, the presence of alliteration on one of the words presently under consideration in the off-verse is taken as a sign that it is stressed, unless it is followed by another alliterating word that is capable of bearing stress; in this case, the adjective or adverb will be unstressed in the off-verse, even though it alliterates, because it is followed by an alliterating word of equal or higher stress level (i.e., anything except a proclitic). Obviously, non-alliterating quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs that precede the first alliterating word of the off-verse will not be stressed (if, that is, the first alliterating word is a word capable of bearing stress).

Conversely, the absence of alliteration of quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs in line-final position or placed immediately following the first lift of the off-verse should be taken as a sign that these too are stressed, for if they were not we should expect some accidental alliteration, when in fact none occurs. The presence of accidental alliteration on several of these words when they

precede the first lift of the off-verse, such as:

Beo 534 *earfeþo on yþum, ðonne ænig oþer man.*

Beo 1251 *Sigon þa to slæpe. Sum sare angeald*

Beo 2861 *eðbegete þam ðe ær his elne forleas.*⁶²

is noteworthy, for these same words appear stressed elsewhere – usually when there are no Class A words in the verse. If accidental alliteration can occur on unstressed words in this sensitive position (sensitive in that the unstressed adjective or adverb is the first alliterating word in the verse, a position usually reserved for the first lift), we should expect it all the more in unstressed words placed in the less sensitive position following the first stressed word of the off-verse; this suggests all the more strongly that words of the type presently under discussion are indeed stressed when they follow the first stressed word of the verse, for none of them alliterates. These verses also provide further support for the unstressed status of quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs that precede the first lift of the on-verse and do not alliterate, for if the adjectives and adverbs can be unstressed in the off-verse even though they alliterate, it is very likely that they are unstressed in the on-verse when they do not alliterate. That they are stressed in the on-verse when they do alliterate is indicated by the absence of verses in which unmetrical triple alliteration would occur from a stressed quantitative adjective or temporal or directional adverb in the on-verse.

The proportion of alliterating quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs to non-alliterating instances of these words when the words are placed before the first Class A word in the on-verse indicates that the alliteration is not accidental and that the words are stressed. This proportion is 33 to 29 in the present corpus, obviously far out of the realm of possibility for accidental alliteration (see Tables I above and III below).

For the off-verse, then, there are four possible positions for the words presently being considered: 1) before the first stressed word in the verse; 2) as the first stressed word in the verse; 3) immediately after the first stressed word in the verse; 4) verse-finally. In the latter two cases, I have argued that the words are stressed, for accidental alliteration, which we should expect if they were unstressed, does not occur. If the quantitative adjective or temporal or directional adverb is the only alliterating element in the verse, it is clearly stressed; conversely, if it precedes the only alliterating element in the verse, it is clearly unstressed. A problem arises

only when the adjective or adverb alliterates with another word (besides a proclitic) in the verse. If the other word is a Class A word, the adjective or adverb is unstressed. In this case it *always precedes* the Class A word with which it alliterates (or else it would fall under position 3, but the adjectives and adverbs in this position never alliterate). Alliterating quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs that are placed before an alliterating Class A word in the off-verse are relatively rare; their incidence is well within the limits for accidental alliteration (see Table II below, and Hutcheson, 'Accidental Alliteration', p. 8). If the other alliterating word is another quantitative adjective or temporal or directional adverb, the first adjective or adverb is unstressed, and the second is stressed. This also provides a nice analogy to the case just discussed of an alliterating quantitative adjective or temporal directional adverb followed by an alliterating Class A word, where the first alliterating word is also unstressed. In the case of an off-verse quantitative adjective or temporal or directional adverb bearing the sole alliteration, most such verses, as already observed, contain no Class A words, and the stress hierarchy emerges as something of an alliteration hierarchy as well. Table II charts the possible positions for the words presently under consideration in the off-verse.

Table II: Off-verse quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs⁶³

	<i>alliterating</i>		<i>non-alliterating</i>		<i>Tot.</i>
	<i>clause-initial</i>	<i>non-initial</i>	<i>clause-initial</i>	<i>non-initial</i>	
Position 1	5	1	30	3	39
Position 2	76	71	X	X	147
Position 3	0	0	37	12	49
Position 4	0	0	8	69	77
Total	81	72	75	84	312

Comments: the five position 1 verses in the first column are: *Beo* 503b, 1238b, 1251b, 1502b, 2861b; the single position 1 verse in the second column is *Beo* 534b (which is clause-initial if we take the verb as understood); the three position 1 verses in the fourth column are: *Dream* 12b, 82b, 94b. The eight position 4 verses in the third column are *Beo* 207b, 314b, 1240b, 1289b, 1419b, 1510b, 1525b, 1699b

(only those adjectives and adverbs that occur in a clause-initial dip – or would if they were unstressed – are listed here; all others are listed under position 4 clause non-initial).

As Table II shows, off-verse quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs occur most frequently – about 46% of the time – as the alliterators of their verses (position 2). Furthermore, these alliterators are split fairly evenly between clause-initial and clause non-initial; this distribution is not explainable by any interpretation of Kuhn's law, and the figures in Table II further undermine the usefulness of the law as a predictive tool. For position 1, on the other hand, Kuhn's law does hold good: most unstressed instances of the words under consideration are in the first dips of their clauses.⁶⁴ The law, however, only works in one direction: unstressed quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs are likely to be clause-initial, but the converse is not true, for many such words in clause-initial verses are stressed as well.⁶⁵ This is shown by positions 2, 3 and 4, where many of these words in clause-initial verses (and placed according to Kuhn's law) are stressed.

For the on-verse, the situation is somewhat different. Possible positions of the words presently under discussion are: 1) before the first and only alliterating word, in verses with no non-alliterating Class A words; 2) as the first of two alliterating words; 3) preceding the first of two stressed words at least the first of which alliterates; 4) as the second of two alliterating words, the first of which is stressed; 5) as the sole stressed and alliterating word; 6) as the sole alliterating word of two stressed words; 7) immediately following the first stressed alliterating word and before another stressed word; 8) verse-finally. In the latter two cases we can argue, by analogy to the off-verse positions 3 and 4, that the words in these positions are stressed. Clearly, moreover, the adjective or adverb is stressed when it is the sole alliterating word in the verse (positions 5 and 6); in these cases, the verse contains no Class A word 95% of the time (as opposed to 64% of the time for the off-verse; see Table I). In position 4 it is also usually clear that the adjective or adverb is stressed. In fact, the only thing that distinguishes position 4 from position 8 is the presence of alliteration; if position 8 is stressed even without alliterating, surely position 4 should be stressed in the presence of alliteration. Conversely, in position 3, it is always clear that the quantitative adjective or temporal or directional adverb is unstressed.

Positions 1 and 2 are the problematic positions for the on-verse. Many

previous metrists (Pope, Sievers, e.g.) stress all such adjectives and adverbs; Bliss, on the other hand, stresses none of group 1 and not all of group 2. Bliss's argument for considering some of Kuhn's *Satzpartikeln*, primarily finite verbs, that fall into group 2 as unstressed is, however, due to a faulty reading of Kuhn.⁶⁶ From the perspective of the audience, moreover, it makes sense to stress the first alliterating word in the verse – if, that is, it is a word that is capable of bearing stress; from the point of view of the poet, it adds to his virtuosity to stress two alliterating words in the on-verse – if he can – instead of one. The argument that such words in analogous position in the off-verse would be unstressed is irrelevant, for the on-verse admits double alliteration, while the off-verse does not. Nonetheless, there could be a few rare cases of an alliterating adjective or adverb being the first alliterating word in the verse and providing unmetrical triple alliteration if stressed; in these cases the alliteration would have to be viewed as accidental. These cases, then, would be analogous to the double alliteration on an initial quantitative adjective or temporal or directional adverb in the off-verse; but these cases are extremely rare⁶⁷ – far more so than accidental alliteration would predict. This suggests that the poets took care to avoid such usages.

Position 1 is the most controversial, for most previous metrists have assigned stress to many quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs when they precede the only alliterating word in the verse. Nevertheless, there are several arguments in favour of not assigning stress to such words. Since non-alliterating quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs that precede the first alliterating word in the off-verse are never stressed, it is natural that they should not be in the on-verse. Audience expectation would also require that the first stressed word alliterate. Finally, as I have already argued, lines in which a non-alliterating Class A word precedes the first alliterating word in the line are so extremely rare as to be very likely corrupt, and it seems unlikely that a non-alliterating word could bear stress when placed before the first alliterator in the line if and only if it is a member of a class of words that are sometimes unequivocally unstressed. The following table charts the distribution of quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs over the possible positions in the on-verse:

Table III: On-verse quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs

	<i>alliterating</i>		<i>non-alliterating</i>		<i>Tot.</i>
	<i>clause-initial</i>	<i>non-initial</i>	<i>clause-initial</i>	<i>non-initial</i>	
Position 1	X	X	20	5	25
Position 2	9	26	X	X	35
Position 3	0	0	4	0	4
Position 4	0	9	X	X	9
Position 5	8	0	X	X	8
Position 6	13	1	X	X	14
Position 7	0	0	1	0	1
Position 8	X	X	12	15	27
Total	30	36	37	20	123

Comments: The five position 1 verses in the fourth column are: *Beo* 486a, 1708a, 1955a, 3164a; *Dream* 154a. The nine position 2 verses in the first column are: *Beo* 164a, 1591a, 1618a, 1794a, 1914a, 1975a, 3077a; *Mald* 288a; *DEdw* 13a. The four position 3 verses are: *Beo* 4a, 1915a, 2160a; *Dream* 118a. The nine position 4 verses are: *Beo* 41a, 145a, 642a, 776a, 991a, 1015a, 1787a, 2268a, 2772a. The eight position 5 verses are: *Beo* 627a, 941a, 2982a; *Mald* 70a, 207a, 243a; *Dream* 110a, 117a. The single position 6 verse in the second column is *Beo* 2091a. The single position 7 verse is *Mald* 72a.

Once again, most unstressed quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs occur in clause-initial half-lines, but five instances of *eall* are unstressed in clause non-initial half lines.⁶⁸ While some previous metrists would stress *eall* in these lines – as they would stress many of the other position 1 words – the absence of alliteration must be taken as an indication that the words are not stressed. The presence of these adjectives and adverbs in position 3, where no metrist would place stress on them, supports the unstressed status of the position 1 words: both position 1 and position 3 place the word before the first alliterating word in the verse. As in the off-verse, on-verse quantitative adjectives and temporal

and directional adverbs are most likely to be the first stress of two in the verse (positions 2 and 6; in position 6 the adjective or adverb always precedes the other stressed word in the verse): they are placed as the first stress about 40% of the time.

Also noteworthy is the extreme paucity of adjectives and adverbs in position 7, unlike the off-verse, which exhibits this placement quite frequently (position 3 for the off-verse), and the absence of alliterating adjectives and adverbs in verse-final position in the first dip of the clause, position 4: all of the stressed alliterating words being considered here in clause-initial verses are the first alliterators in their lines, or, to put it another way, there are no A-, D-, or E-types – the only types in which a second lift could still be considered as being in the first dip of the clause⁶⁹ – that both begin a clause and contain an alliterating adjective or adverb of the type presently under consideration as the second primary stress. The *Beowulf* poet, for example, will begin a clause with a verse like 'þa wæs eft swa ær' (*Beo* 642a, 1787a), in which the position 4 temporal adverb *ær* falls in the second dip of the verse, but will not begin a clause with a verse like 'madma mænigo' (*Beo* 41a), in which the quantitative adjective *mænigo* falls in the first dip of the verse.⁷⁰ According to Kendall's and Lucas's interpretation of Kuhn's law, *mænigo* could be unstressed if the verse were clause-initial. Since such a verse would seem to demand stress on *mænigo* regardless of clause placement, the absence of such verses in clause-initial position might seem to provide support for Kendall's and Lucas's reading. This absence is, however, an independent metrical fact about Old English poetry.⁷¹ For of the 38 on-verses in *Beo* with the same metrical pattern as *Beo* 41a (i.e., the most basic A-type with the second stress resolved), none begins a clause. Moreover, of the 441 attestations of the corresponding pattern with an unresolved second stress in the on-verse, only ten begin clauses.⁷² Three of these ten, furthermore – *Beo* 2187a ('swiðe wendon'), 2706a ('Feond gefyldan'), and 3048a ('discas lagon') – contain finite verbs in verse-final position. Since these verses do not meet the criteria set out in one of Kendall's *ad hoc* formulations about particle stress – that 'any particle which extends beyond the second syllable after the first lift can be considered displaced' and therefore stressed by Kuhn's law ('Metrical Grammar', p. 10) – he would have to scan these verses with no stress on the verb. Since such a scansion would be contrary not only to the scansion I have suggested above, but also to that of virtually every Old English metrist, I suggest that Kuhn's law is useless for determining stress in Old English poetry: even when combined with *ad hoc* formulations that account for many apparent exceptions, it still does not work. Kendall implies that Kuhn's law may be used for determining stress in Old English

poetry (*Metrical Grammar*, pp. 16-17 *et passim*), yet as we have seen even Kendall's own extensions of Kuhn's laws do not always provide sound metre (see too note 49). Kuhn himself quite clearly did not use his laws for determining levels of stress; the testimony from alliteration is, in fact, a far more productive tool for this purpose.

With the exception of the two verses involving possible accidental alliteration discussed above (*Beo* 3077a, *DEdw* 13a), the alliteration-based rules for determining stress on quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs that I have suggested in this article always provide well-attested metrical patterns. Note, however, that even these two verses do not contain triple alliteration with both particles stressed, and that the verses provide metrical types attested elsewhere (though rarely) even with the particles stressed. Moreover, Kuhn's laws do not help here, for they would not be broken with the particles stressed, and they would not be broken with the particles unstressed (see above and note 49). The most important advantage of the stress rules that I have suggested, furthermore, is their simplicity: they obviate the need to determine clause boundaries or to determine whether the words in question are *Satzpartikeln* or *Satzteilpartikeln*. The evidence from alliteration provides, in fact, the soundest basis for determining stress on quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs in Old English poetry.

NOTES

¹ I should like to thank Mary Blockley and John Harkness, as well as the readers for *Leeds Studies in English*, for reading earlier versions of this paper and providing numerous helpful comments. My argument has benefited greatly from their insights.

² *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 57 (1933), 1-109. The article sets forth Kuhn's rules for placement and stress of certain words, which Kuhn calls 'sentence particles' (*Satzpartikeln*), in early Germanic poetry.

³ The most influential of these scholars is A. J. Bliss, in *An Introduction to Old English Metre* (Oxford, 1958), §§ 20-26. Following Bliss, and influenced by him, are Calvin B. Kendall, 'The Metrical Grammar of *Beowulf*: Displacement', *Speculum* 58 (1983), 1-30 and *The Metrical Grammar of 'Beowulf'* (Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 5, 1991), esp. pp. 13-59, and Peter J. Lucas, 'On Some Breaches of Kuhn's Law of Particles and *Genesis A 2745*', *Philological Quarterly* 64 (1985), 386-91, 'On the Role of Some Adverbs in Old English Verse Grammar', *Papers from the Fifth International Conference on Historical Linguistics*, ed. Sylvia Adamson et al. (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 65, Amsterdam, 1990), 293-312, and 'Some Aspects of the Interaction between Verse Grammar and Metre in Old English Poetry', *Studia Neophilologica* 59 (1987), 145-75. I suggest that all three of these scholars have misinterpreted Kuhn's work. See too D. Slay, 'Some Aspects of the Technique of Composition of Old English Verse', *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1952), 1-14, who also slightly misinterprets Kuhn.

⁴ For example, David Hoover, *A New Theory of Old English Meter* (New York, 1985), p. 52, and Bruce Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1985), II, 984. Hoover's views on metre are presented concisely in 'Evidence for the Primacy of Alliteration in Old English Metre', *Anglo-Saxon England* 14 (1985), 75-96. Hoover argues throughout his work that alliteration is the most important criterion in scanning Old English verse, and his views have influenced my own.

⁵ Not very much of the current debate concerning the validity of Kuhn's laws has yet appeared in print; there were, however, two sessions devoted to the topic at the Twenty-Seventh Annual International Congress on Medieval Studies, May 7-10, 1992, in Kalamazoo, Michigan, and the papers from these sessions are to be published soon. For a re-examination and analysis of Kuhn's Laws, see B. R. Hutcheson, 'Kuhn's Law, Finite Verb Stress, and the Critics', *Studia Neophilologica* 64 (1992), 129-39, and Robert Stockwell and Donka Minkova, 'Kuhn's Laws and the Rise of Verb-Second Syntax', in Toril Swan ed., *Old Germanic Languages in a Comparative Perspective* (Berlin, 1993), forthcoming. Both of these articles argue that Kuhn's laws, as he himself formulated them, have more to do with syntax than with stress or metre; Stockwell and Minkova, in assessments with which I agree, note that 'Kuhn did not create rules that metrists can use but . . . on the contrary he used what he assumed to be well-established metrical scansion to

make inferences about early Germanic word-order' ('Against the Notion "Metrical Grammar"', paper read at the Twenty-Seventh Annual International Congress on Medieval Studies, May 7, 1992) and that Kuhn's laws are merely 'syntax *poorly formulated*' (ibid., emphasis theirs).

⁶ It is my contention that alliteration is a better indicator of stress in Old English than Kuhn's laws for all *Satzpartikeln* except those that are, in my view, never stressed, such as subordinating conjunctions and relative pronouns, but an examination of all *Satzpartikeln* is beyond the scope of this essay.

⁷ Throughout this article, I use Kuhn's original term instead of the customary English translation 'particle', which is ambiguous since for most linguists it is synonymous with 'clitic'. Kuhn called clitics *Satzteilpartikeln*. Elsewhere I term the types of *Satzpartikeln* that I discuss in the present paper 'Class B words' ('Kuhn's Law', 133).

⁸ Quotations from Kuhn are taken from the reprint of his article in *Kleine Schriften 1* (Berlin, 1969), pp. 18-103, with page numbers from the original article as given in the reprint.

⁹ As in Modern English, these words can act in Old English as either adjectives or pronouns (as in 'some people were there' vs. 'some were there'). By calling them quantitative adjectives I do not intend to exclude pronominal uses.

¹⁰ His second law, with which I shall be only tangentially concerned in this article, is: 'Im Satzaufakt müssen Satzpartikeln stehen' (p. 43).

¹¹ Slay, who also examines stress of indefinite quantitative adjectives but bases his analysis largely on Kuhn ('Some Aspects of the Technique of Composition of Old English Verse'), notes that 'the indefinite adjective of quantity may be readily moved from the natural position before its noun As soon as it is moved in this way the quantity word is subject to the "Law of Sentence Particles" formulated by H. Kuhn' (p. 6). Slay further asserts that 'as soon as [the quantitative adjective] is moved from this position [i.e., immediately before its noun] it counts as a sentence particle' (p. 7n). Yet in none of Slay's examples immediately following this statement is the quantitative adjective in one of the positions allowed by Kuhn's first law.

¹² See Kuhn, p. 75, for example.

¹³ See Hutcheson, 'Kuhn's Law', *passim*.

¹⁴ Kendall views, for example, a verse like *Beo* 217a, 'gewat þa ofer wægholm', as a violation of both of Kuhn's laws with the verb stressed ('Metrical Grammar', p. 7), whereas Kuhn himself, who in fact stresses the verb in this verse (Kuhn, p. 11), views it as a violation of neither of his laws. Bliss's, Slay's, and especially Lucas's interpretations are more in line with Kuhn's own writings; nevertheless, all three use Kuhn's laws for purposes that he clearly did not intend, and which are, I think, unwarranted.

¹⁵ Adverbial stress in Old English poetry has been recently discussed by Lucas in 'On the Role of Some Adverbs'. Lucas, however, bases his stress rules explicitly and thoroughly on Kuhn's

laws; my focus is therefore different from his.

¹⁶ This last is not strictly speaking a temporal adverb, but its distribution is similar to that of the other adverbs listed.

¹⁷ I include adverbial uses of *eall*, in order to determine whether these show a different stress distribution than the adjectival uses. I do not, however, include adverbial uses of any of the other adjectives, nor do I include non-adverbial uses of any of the adverbs (such as, for example, conjunctive uses of *ær*).

¹⁸ My text is *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, edited by George Philip Krapp and Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, 6 vols. (New York, 1931-53). I omit quotation marks, and indicate editorial emendations or additions with square brackets: []; I indicate manuscript readings that have been emended out with braces: { }.

¹⁹ Class A words are words that are always stressed, regardless of metrical or syntactic context. These include nouns, qualitative adjectives, almost all non-finite verb forms, several pronouns, and many adverbs. See Huthcheson, 'Kuhn's Law', p. 133.

²⁰ Note, however, that Kuhn would have regarded some of these not as *Satzpartikeln* but as *Satzteilpartikeln*.

²¹ In these examples and all subsequent examples, I indicate the alliterating stressed syllables with bold type for the initial letter(s).

²² Note that three of these verses involve alliteration on vowels, the most common initial sound in Old English poetry, and the fourth involves alliteration on /s/, the fifth most common sound. The rates of alliteration on these words are well within the range for accidental alliteration. See B. R. Huthcheson, 'Accidental Alliteration in Old English Poetry: A Reconsideration', *English Language Notes* 30 (1992), 8.

²³ *Oðer* is stressed in all of its attestations in the corpus for this study except *Beo* 1351b, 'oðer earmsceapen', in which stress on *oðer* would provide double alliteration in the off-verse. This suggests that *oðer* is not like the qualitative adjectives, which are always stressed. Indeed, Jess B. Bessinger, Jr.'s *Concordance to 'The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records'*, programmed by Philip H. Smith, Jr. (Ithaca, 1978), s.v. *oðer*, confirms this: while *oðer* is usually stressed, it is unstressed a significant number of times. Its behaviour as a word with variable stress is attributable to its being conceived as a quantitative adjective, with the primary meaning of 'second'. I am grateful to Paul Remley for pointing this out to me.

²⁴ The best justification for stressing *oðer* in preference to *ænig* in this verse is the analogy with *Beo* 1353 above. Kuhn's law does not really help here, for, since Kuhn allowed unstressed *Satzpartikeln* following stressed *Satzpartikeln* in clause-initial verses (see Kuhn, p. 11), *ænig* could be stressed in this verse and *oðer* unstressed, according to Kuhn's law (if, that is, Kuhn would have regarded both words as *Satzpartikeln*; it is not clear that he would have). See note 26.

²⁵ By Sievers's Rule of Precedence. See Eduard Sievers, *Altgermanische Metrik* (Halle, 1893), §§ 19-29, esp. § 22.

²⁶ Kuhn's law is ambiguous in this case as well. Kuhn gives examples such as *Beo* 1987a, 'hu lomp eow on lade', where he explicitly regards *hu*, *lomp*, and *eow* as *Satzpartikeln*, only stresses *lomp*, and still does not regard the verse as violating his first law (p. 11 and p. 11 note 2). Kuhn also stresses *Satzpartikeln* that do not alliterate, as in *Beo* 951a, 'ful oft ic for læssan', where he stresses *oft* and explicitly regards *ic* as a sentence particle as well (p. 11) (*ful* in this verse would probably be a *Satzteilpartikel* for Kuhn, not a *Satzpartikel*). Note, moreover, that Kuhn does not regard *oft* as stressed in *Beo* 480a, 'ful oft gebeotedon' (p. 11). According to Kuhn, *oft* is a sentence particle that follows his law in both *Beo* 951a and 480a; that he stresses the former and not the latter indicates *beyond a doubt* that he himself is using some criteria other than his law to determine stress.

²⁷ A stronger case may be made for this reading in *Beo* 534 than in *Beo* 1238. For *ænig* certainly seems to be proclitic to *oðer* in the former line (cf. *'ðonne oðer ænig man', which would provide faulty syntax at best), but in the latter line both adverbs seem to be proclitic to the verb (cf. *'swa he ær oft dydon', the syntax of which seems unexceptionable). I shall suggest a further criterion for stressing only the second of the two Class B words in these verses below.

²⁸ See Kuhn, p. 44. That quantitative adjectives must sometimes be regarded as *Satzpartikeln* and sometimes as *Satzteilpartikeln*, and that when the former they are sometimes stressed by Kuhn when they do not alliterate and sometimes unstressed, even when in similar syntactic environments, represent unnecessary complications. The evidence from alliteration provides far simpler criteria for determining stress on these words. Since Kuhn seems to base his scansion on Sievers and Heusler, and since Sievers relies largely on alliteration to determine stress, I suggest – though I cannot prove – that Kuhn himself relied more on alliteration than on his own laws for assigning stress. To the extent that Sievers, and hence Kuhn, stress non-alliterating *Satzpartikeln* in the openings of clauses, however, their scansion differs from the scansion I am advocating.

²⁹ In the off-verse (as well as the on-verse), *fea* is always stressed and bears the alliteration of the verse in the present corpus. This suggests that *fea* is different from the other indefinite adjectives of quantity; a glance at the *Concordance* confirms this: in every instance in which *fea* occurs, it is stressed (see the *Concordance*, s.v. *fea*). Furthermore, it bears the sole alliteration in the line in all but two attestations (*Christ III* 1170a and *Resignation* 66a). *Fea*, then, must be regarded as exceptional among the indefinite adjectives of quantity; the only reason I can suggest for this is its similarity to the nouns *fea*, 'joy', and *fea*, 'money'.

³⁰ *Hraðe* can alliterate on either *h* or *r*. While *hraðe* usually alliterates on *h*, it also alliterates on *r* in other poems besides *Beo* (see the *Concordance*, s.v. *hraðe*).

³¹ Compare the following verse:

Dream 47 opene inwidhlemmas. Ne dorste ic hira {n}ænigum sceððan

In *Beo* 949, the manuscript reading *ænigra* must be emended to *nænigra* to make the alliteration; conversely, in *Dream* 47, the manuscript reading *nægum* must be emended to *ænigum* to make the alliteration. Taken together, these verses indicate that the double negative in Old English was optional but not necessary; moreover, these verses support the validity of each other's emendations.

³² Several scholars have misinterpreted Kuhn's law to imply that *Satzpartikeln* will be unstressed when placed according to his law (see, for example, Kendall, *Metrical Grammar*, 18; Lucas, 'Role of Some Adverbs', 302); that this is not so is demonstrated not only by the above examples but also by Kuhn's examples on p. 11 of his article, where he notes explicitly that the stressed words are *Satzpartikeln*.

³³ The point is Hoover's: 'if such words were truly unstressed, accidental alliteration should occur, as it does with other unstressed words in *Beowulf*' (*A New Theory*, p. 68). Hoover makes the observation with regard to finite verbs, but it applies equally well to the words presently under consideration.

³⁴ Bliss assigns these words a secondary stress in verses of this sort, but does not give any justification for this procedure (pp. 139-61 *passim*).

³⁵ See Hutcheson, 'Accidental Alliteration', p. 8.

³⁶ There is an exception in *Mald* 271, but this line is metrically corrupt (see further below).

³⁷ Sievers tends to regard the adverbs in this position as bearing primary stress and the words that conclude the lines – almost always finite verbs – as bearing secondary stress (i.e., as type D), though he admits that it is often difficult to tell the difference between these and verses of type E ('Zur Rhythmik des germanischen Alliterationsverses', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 10 (1885), 257). Bliss, on the other hand, usually regards the adverbs as bearing secondary stress and the *Satzpartikeln* at the end of the line as bearing primary stress, basing his decision on alliteration and presumably the caesura (pp. 70-73), though for many of these he simply asserts that they 'must be referred to Type E' (p. 73). John C. Pope in *The Rhythm of 'Beowulf'* (New Haven, 1942), tends to regard these verses in the same way as Sievers (pp. 364-66, e.g.), though at times he is unsure (p. 368). What these three metrists have in common is that they are moulding the stress patterns to fit preconceived notions of metrical types, though Pope, in the 1966 edition of his book, did change his mind and treat some of these verses as having three primary stresses (cited in Thomas M. Cable, *The Meter and Melody of 'Beowulf'*, Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 64 (Urbana, 1974), p. 78). Lucas regards many *Satzpartikeln* in this position as wholly unstressed, and gets around the apparent violations of Kuhn's law that such a scansion would produce by suggesting that they are not *Satzpartikeln* but enclitics ('Some Aspects of the Interaction between Verse Grammar and Metre in Old English Poetry', pp. 156-57).

³⁸ It has been oft noted that this line uses rhyme instead of alliterative metre. See, for example,

Bruce Mitchell and Fred C. Robinson, *An Introduction to Old English*, 4th edition (Oxford, 1988), p. 235n.

³⁹ Dobbie and other editors emend *handlean* to *andlean* in this verse and in 2094, which alliterates on a vowel. But since *handlean* is attested in lines with alliteration on *h* (at *Exodus* 19; *A Prayer* 14, 19), it seems best not to emend *Beo* 1541.

⁴⁰ Many previous metrists, such as Sievers and Pope, would place an additional stress on the first or second word in each of these verses. I shall present arguments against such a scansion presently.

⁴¹ Kuhn, that is, would not have regarded these words as *Satzpartikeln* but as *betonte Wörter*. It is not, therefore, that Kuhn's law determines that these are stressed; rather, the law simply does not apply. It is worth reiterating here that Kuhn formulated his law after determining stress and in order to determine where in the clause certain types of unstressed words were allowed. Kuhn, in other words, probably would have stressed the adverbs and adjectives in the above verses not because his law told him they should be stressed, but rather in order to provide the second stress of the verse under Sievers's system, which allowed for two and only two primary stresses per verse.

⁴² We cannot, that is, fall back on the two stress per verse theory, since this has been discredited (see, e.g., Bliss, *Metre*, Chapter 10). In the absence, therefore, of any compelling reason – such as the presence or absence of alliteration – to scan on-verses differently from off-verses when the verses are syntactically similar, I suggest that they should be scanned the same way. Note too that most of the adjectives and adverbs in these verses are postpositive to the words they modify, which might provide grounds for stressing them (cf. the verses in which they are proclitic and unstressed), except that *Beo* 591 and *Mald* 188 do not follow this model.

⁴³ Note that this on-verse breaks Sievers's Rule of Precedence. It is, however, possible that *man* was a Class B word (as it certainly is when it has the force of an indefinite pronoun) even when used as a noun.

⁴⁴ This problematic verse will be discussed in more detail below.

⁴⁵ Lucas argues that *Sona* in *Beo* 1591 should be unstressed since it conforms to Kuhn's law ('Role of Some Adverbs' 302); Kendall asserts that 'Comparison with line 750a shows that the alliteration on the initial adverb in *Sona þæt gesawon* (1591a) cannot be taken as evidence that the adverb is a stressed element' (*Metrical Grammar* 24). But I do not see that comparison of 1591a with 750a shows anything of the kind. According to my argument, *sona* does not alliterate in 750a, therefore it is not stressed; it does alliterate in 1591a, therefore it is stressed. All that comparison with 750a shows is that *sona* is not always stressed, which is why we need to examine stress on *sona* in the first place. That *sona* is not always unstressed is demonstrated by several verses outside the corpus for this study, like *Genesis* A 862a, where *sona*, though placed according to Kuhn's law, provides the sole alliteration in the verse.

⁴⁶ I have argued elsewhere that Bliss's theory of ornamental alliteration represents an unnecessary complication ('Kuhn's Law', section III).

⁴⁷ It is also worth noting that Bliss scans all of these verses except *Beo* 3077a with a stress on the adjective or adverb, even those that would follow Kuhn's law with an unstressed particle. This is curious considering that Bliss scans many alliterating finite verbs in this same position as unstressed, and posits ornamental alliteration on them.

⁴⁸ For the *Beo* 3077a metrical pattern, cf. *Beo* 496a, 896a, 1632a, and 1904a; for the *DEdw* 13a metrical pattern, cf. *Beo* 141a and 402b.

⁴⁹ Here it might be argued that Kendall's interpretation of Kuhn's law provides a better scansion for these verses than the criteria provided by alliteration. Kuhn's law simply states that *Satzpartikeln* will be placed early in the clause, in which position they are possibly, but not necessarily, unstressed. Kendall takes this a step further and argues that such sentence particles must be unstressed. Stress patterns should determine the metre, and not the other way around; in the two verses in question my argument from alliteration provides rare but attested metrical patterns, and in order to claim that the *Satzpartikeln* in these verses are unstressed and that the alliteration is accidental (a claim that I am not making, however), I should have to introduce the notion of metrical normality to my stress-rules, which puts the cart before the horse. Kendall's rules, however, assign no stress to the *Satzpartikeln* and provide the more usual metrical patterns on the first go-round. Yet even Kendall must fall back on some notion of metrical normality when his interpretation of Kuhn's laws fails to provide sound metre, and he formulates a 'transformational rule' to account for these cases (*Metrical Grammar*, p. 24). But this further rule does not always work. *Beo* 525, 'Ðonne wene ic to þe wyrsan gepingea', provides a case in point. Kendall observes, 'Here the [transformational] rule first assigns metrical stress to the phrase *to þe*. Since this does not generate a regular metrical contour, the rule then puts metrical stress on the phrase *wene ic*. The resulting pattern corresponds to a type B and *wene* must alliterate' (*Metrical Grammar*, p. 26). In fact, however, the transformational rule assigns stress to the *Satzpartikel ic*; the resulting pattern is still a type B, but *ic* does not alliterate. Thus Kendall's interpretation of Kuhn's laws, even when combined with the notion of normative metrical patterns, still does not provide consistent criteria for assigning stress. I suggest that some ambiguity about the stress levels of two words out of 437 is preferable to this state of affairs.

⁵⁰ Of the five examples of no alliteration on the first Class A word in the line in *Beo*, three – *Beo* 780, 1379, and 2094 – are emended by most editors. Of the remaining two, *Beo* 316a is a line proper to Old Norse poetry but not to Old English, as Roberta Frank notes in 'Skaldic Verse and the Date of *Beowulf*', in *The Dating of Beowulf*, edited by Colin Chase (Toronto, 1981), pp. 123-39 (at 132); see too Kuhn's remarks on the line (p. 84). *Beo* 3056a, 'He is manna gehyld', may be emended to 'he is gehyld manna' (cf. *Andreas* 1045a, 'on gehyld godes'), though it is also possible

that *man* should be regarded as a Class B word here. See above, note 43.

⁵¹ Note that the alliteration is again on a vowel, and that Kuhn's law is ambiguous here and does not help. It is possible, as John Harkness has pointed out to me, that 'no þy ær' was a fixed phrase, seen as one word.

⁵² Thus Sievers's Rule of Precedence; Lucas makes the hierarchical stress structure explicit ('Some Aspects', 159-60). Neither Sievers nor Lucas applies the hierarchy to the different words that belong to a specific part of speech, however.

⁵³ Of the 90 occurrences of *ut* listed in the *Concordance*, only one is undoubtedly unstressed: *Psalm* 87:8.3, 'eam ic swære geseald, þær ic ut swican ne mæg'.

⁵⁴ That is, they sometimes bear stress and alliteration in verses containing non-alliterating stressed elements. All except one of these are in off-verses (see Table I below).

⁵⁵ The position on Kuhn's law that Kendall takes in his book *The Metrical Grammar of Beowulf* represents merely an amplification of the views expressed in his earlier article. He does, however, change his stance on infinitives, which in the book he includes under *Satzpartikeln* (p. 17). Indeed, Kuhn lists non-finite verb forms as *Satzpartikeln* 'occasionally' (p. 5), that is, probably only when they are unstressed. To classify all infinitives as *Satzpartikeln*, as Kendall does, seems hasty, for there are only twenty-four certain instances of unstressed infinitives in Old English Poetry (see E. G. Stanley, 'Verbal Stress in Old English Verse', *Anglia* 93 (1975), 324), and infinitives are in general more likely to conclude their clauses than to be placed in accordance with Kuhn's law.

⁵⁶ As Stockwell and Minkova point out, this syntactic rule ('multiple particle fronting') is peculiar to Old English verse ('Against the Notion "Metrical Grammar"'). Such a rule would have facilitated composition of the verse, for it removed semantically necessary words for which synonyms were rare or unavailable to the beginning of the clause, where they could be unstressed, leaving the positions where stress – and hence alliteration – was necessary open for words for which synonyms were available, like nouns, or on which variation was possible, like qualitative adjectives. It is this phenomenon, in fact, that Kuhn's law describes.

⁵⁷ These data confirm the validity of Sievers's Rule of Precedence, especially inasmuch as Sievers is more willing to allow exceptions in the off-verse than in the on-verse. See *Metrik*, § 24, for example.

⁵⁸ This table lists the stressed alliterating quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs that I have just examined. Column A of Table I contains figures for those adjectives and adverbs that alliterate in preference to a Class A word in the on-verse, i.e., a Class A word that does not alliterate follows the alliterating adjective or adverb. Column B of the table contains figures for those that occur in on-verses that have no Class A words. Column C contains figures for the alliterating adjectives or adverbs that occur in on-verses in which a Class A word also alliterates; the

dual figures indicate that the adjective or adverb is placed before the Class A word or after it, respectively. Column D lists the off-verse figures for those adjectives and adverbs that alliterate in preference to a Class A word. Column E contains the off-verse figures for verses in which there are no Class A words; the final column contains the totals. I give line references for instances of fewer than ten attestations.

⁵⁹ It is, as observed above, possible that the adverbs in *Beo* 3077a and *DEdw* 13a are not stressed, and that the alliteration is accidental.

⁶⁰ By regarding certain words as *Satzpartikeln* only when they occur in the positions that his first law allows, Kuhn gives himself considerable latitude: a stressed *Satzpartikel* that does not follow his law ceases to be a *Satzpartikel* entirely, and thus does not break the law. A stressed *Satzpartikel* that follows the law is still, however, a *Satzpartikel* (see Kuhn, p. 11). Such flexibility weakens the power of Kuhn's law as a tool for determining stress patterns, a use in which, to repeat, Kuhn himself seems to have had no interest.

⁶¹ By using the term 'rule' I do not intend to provide a prescription; rather, this is merely a description of the actual stress patterns that I have argued for above.

⁶² Also *Beo* 503, 1238, 1502. See Table II below.

⁶³ Table II lists the words examined above, divided into alliterating and non-alliterating and subdivided into clause-initial and clause non-initial, by their placement under the four possible positions for off-verse particles. An X in the table marks the places where these words cannot occur by definition.

⁶⁴ The position 1 clause non-initial verses in Table II all contain a quantitative adjective in the attributive position, and are thus not subject to Kuhn's laws (i.e., Kuhn would have regarded them as *Satzteilpartikeln*).

⁶⁵ *Pace* Lucas, who implies that such words will be unstressed unless they are the only alliterators in their verses ('Role of Some Adverbs', pp. 298, 302 *et passim*; 'Some Aspects', *passim*).

⁶⁶ See Hutcheson, 'Kuhn's Law', section III.

⁶⁷ *Beo* 2767a, 'Swylce he siomian geseah,' is the only one I have found. *Swylce*, when an adverb (as here), seems to follow the same stress rules as the temporal and directional adverbs I am presently considering; it can also, however, be a conjunction, in which case it is never stressed. Note that both uses of *swylce* fall under Kuhn's definition of a *Satzpartikel*.

⁶⁸ Again these are all in the attributive position and thus do not break Kuhn's laws. Thus the adjectival uses of *eall* in the present corpus differ from the other adjectives and adverbs under consideration in that they are sometimes unstressed in positions that Kuhn's law does not allow yet are exempt from the law because they are in the attributive position, and thus not *Satzpartikeln* but *Satzteilpartikeln*.

⁶⁹ That is, it would be in the first dip of the clause if unstressed.

⁷⁰ See further Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, §§ 149-77.

⁷¹ Clearly, such clause-initial verses would not have bothered Kuhn, for he scans many *Satzpartikeln* in the first dip of the clause as stressed.

⁷² *Beo* 1119a, 1529a, 1569a, 1925a, 2187a, 2663a, 2706a, 2778a (which is a clause in itself), 2988a, 3048a.

'Cynewulf and Cyneheard' and *Landnámabók*: Another Narrative Tradition

Fredrik J. Heinemann

Annal 755 (757) in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* recounts a royal family's internecine struggle for the throne of Wessex. Conflict begins when Cynewulf, supported by his councillors, first deposes and then exiles Sigeberht when he slays his ealdorman, Cumbra. A swineherd loyal to the ealdorman takes blood vengeance on the exiled king. Altogether, Cynewulf reigns for twenty-nine years until Cyneheard, Sigeberht's brother as well as Cynewulf's kinsman, musters a force and attacks the king and his bodyguard, leaving only one survivor. Cynewulf's remaining troops, led by Osric and Wigfrith, retaliate by killing Cyneheard and his followers, except for Osric's godson.¹

Old English scholars have long been fond of 'this precious bit of OE prose narrative'.² For one thing, its inclusion in many anthologies of Old English literature has made it widely known.³ For another, its dramatic character has occasioned a surprising number of studies of its literary style and political dimensions.⁴ In addition, it has often been compared to the Icelandic family saga. At first an observation made either in passing or in reference to specific points,⁵ the notion began to assume theoretical character in an article by C. L. Wrenn in 1940,⁶ much of which he repeated in his literary history in 1967⁷ despite G. Turville-Petre's trenchant criticism in the meantime (see note 4), and seems to have achieved the status of a minor dogma in one formulation.⁸ Finally, the most recent and elaborate comparison of the annal entry to the sagas is that of R. W. McTurk (see note 1),⁹ in an article which is both an edition of the annal entry and the richest single source of information about it. If style is defined as 'a kind of variation which distinguishes the object we are considering from a norm established by other members of its class',¹⁰ then we can sympathise with the attempt to find a class in

which to place the annal, even while not endorsing its results. But the quality that makes 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard' precious within the Anglo-Saxon corpus is its uniqueness, the classifying of which is a worthy challenge to the hardest of literary theorists. Despite the imprecision of the alleged similarities between annal and saga, they do resemble each other where 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard' dramatises conflict in a manner that constitutes the trademark of a saga. Nevertheless, the annal reads for the most part like a drastic summary of a saga stripped of the rhetorical devices that constitute saga style (*pace* Cassidy and Ringler), however we may choose to define it. Such an unremarkable observation would not need stating had not the annal-as-saga school drawn the original comparison in the first place. To repair the damage, such as it is, the present essay will argue that the annal entry is reminiscent of a form of narrative chronicle writing practiced by the compilers of the Old Icelandic *Landnámabók*.

Before I turn to *Landnámabók*, however, I would like to dispose of the notion that 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard' resembles a saga. Whereas the annal is no more than a gripping but sometimes inexpertly rendered story, a saga imparts a coded message that the literal sense alone does not convey. Like all imaginative reconstructions of the past, a saga possesses certain features that set it apart from retrospection of a primarily commemorative character. Put simply, a saga tell us more than even a scrupulously accurate summary of its plot can manage to convey. Among the many differences between a chronicle and a saga that account for the kind of information we can extract from each, three seem to be paramount.

The first is intertextuality.¹¹ Because sagas can be read in relation to each other, each one has a dimension extending beyond itself. In the same way that indispensable commentary on *Hamlet* can be gained from the Shakespeare canon itself, a knowledge of all sagas, irrespective of the genre distinctions modern scholars have imposed upon them, informs a reading of any one saga. Sagas represent a body of semi-holy script that creates a national myth by repeating universal observations again and again. As many readers have remarked, sagas consist of stereotyped characters, a limited stock of actions, and a fixed repertoire of conduct.¹² The reading process consists of *déjà vu* experiences in which characters, events, and conduct are weighed against the composites drawn from the corpus at large. Typical characters are, for example, 'the unbalanced man',¹³ the inciting female,¹⁴ the vain hero returning from abroad,¹⁵ the wise counsellor, and the overreaching litigant. Stereotyped actions are, among others, the recruiting of support for a lawsuit, the delayed betrothal, the wooing scene, the marriage forced

upon the bride, the hostile visit to a neighboring farm, and the triumphal return from abroad. Typical conduct, to name but a few kinds, is the denial of provocation, the awarding of self-judgment, the hesitation in seeking vengeance, and reluctance to predict the future. Virtually no major character or significant action exists outside these parameters, which are ultimately not just a matter of literary artifice but a way of observing, organizing, explaining, and comprehending the world. Moreover, as the composite defines the norm, departures from it characterise the abnormal, the exceptional, and the deviant. So much of what is initially confusing or unclear in the sagas becomes comprehensible when we recognise the norms operating in any given scene. First-time readers of *Brennu-Njáls saga*, for example, experience a sense of disorientation in the early chapters not only because the narrator does little to dispel the long-ago-and-far-away quality of the action but also because the conduct of Morðr gígja, Hrútr, and Gunnarr can best be comprehended in the context of what happens later in the saga and elsewhere in the corpus. And much social criticism in traditional literature is exercised by means of contrast, exaggeration, pastiche, and parody, all of which require a clear sense of the ordinary and the typical in order to function. This rather obvious but too infrequently acknowledged principle has a special relevance to the sagas both in view of the relative scarcity of direct authorial intrusion in the action and of the lack of commentary that characterises the novel – in other words, the celebrated and imprecisely designated objectivity of the narrator.¹⁶

The paradigmatic relation between one saga and its corpus differs from the intertext of 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard' in two ways. First, as mentioned above, the entry is a virtual narrative *hapax legomenon*. As a consequence, most of the figures are not really characters at all but merely names or titles: the Witan, Sigeberht, Cumbra, the swain, Cynewulf's mistress, Osric, his godson, and Wigfrith. Unique characters in traditional literature, those by definition lacking a second level – the general, the typical, or the symbolic – can exist only on the literal level. In contrast, a traditional hero, for example, Beowulf – whose tradition has by no means survived *in toto* – receives our attention most when his conduct, set against the stereotype, gives him depth and individuality that raise him above the norm. At times, the contrast is so strong that his behavior approaches the allegorical.¹⁷ Second, even the characters in 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard' – Cynewulf, Cyneheard, and the loyal retainers – who arguably have counterparts in the Icelandic, Anglo-Saxon, or Middle High German literary traditions, lack context because the annal does not or cannot consistently develop them as stereotypes. For example, Cynewulf resembles the type of alert warrior defending against attack paralleled in

the *Finnsburh Fragment*¹⁸ and numerous other texts. But, in addition, because he is overcome during a dalliance, he resembles a parody of heroic response to attack as represented by Holofernes in *Judith*.¹⁹ The annal seems to mix the two types: Cynewulf is brave in his own defense, but careless in not preventing its necessity. We cannot tell whether we ought to regard Cynewulf as a king grown complacent, not to say decadent, with age,²⁰ or as one foully betrayed. Depending on the reader's inclination, the text either abounds in tantalising hints or lacks authorial control. Cyneheard, likewise, looks like an overreaching avenger whose undertaking misfires because of his own miscalculations, forcing him twice to command loyalty with offers of money. But perhaps he is a just scourge, like Hamlet, who achieves his goal at the cost of his own life. Clearly, the portrait remains too fuzzy for the reader to decide, and such questions place too many demands upon the text. Finally, the loyal retainers receive our sympathy because of their heroic dying words, but what does their conduct contribute to our perception of the feud? Why are they given such good lines when we do not even know who they are? The annalist's failure to give us enough information to understand the significance of events causes confusion instead of developing a fascination with the ambiguity and mystery of human conduct. Why, after all, does Cynewulf want Cyneheard banished? Has the king's network of spies revealed his kinsman's plotting? Or has the king grown tyrannical? On the other hand, why does Cyneheard attack Cynewulf? Is he seeking revenge, is he merely ambitious, or is his attack a preemptive strike designed to counter the king's plotting? Perhaps all three? Where has Cyneheard been during the twenty-nine years of Cynewulf's reign? Perhaps merely growing old enough to seek revenge, but we cannot be sure. Are they cousins or uncle and nephew? How old are they? Such questions are obviously misplaced given that the function of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is to commemorate past events in a form that the tradition of annal writing permitted. That events in this annal can be given an extra-literal sense seems, therefore, highly unlikely, because the lack of context fails to provide a dimension in which events have meaning beyond themselves. We should be thankful for its inclusion in the *Chronicle* if for no other reason than what it shows us about the difficulty of reading narrative cut loose from its context.

The second feature distinguishing annal and saga is their treatment of subject matter, specifically feud. Sagas are never impartial in their depiction of conflict; actions are rarely presented as if they merely happened; insults are seldom delivered simply for the sake of the plot; killings are not chance occurrences that reveal the

harshness of the saga world; legal wranglings do not take place in order to demonstrate the dispute customs of a bygone era; characters are not cantankerous or idealised figures preserved as a legacy to succeeding generations.²¹ All these narrative elements fit together as part of a fictional world controlled by a narrator who guides us on our way. None of these elements can be isolated from the fabric of the sagas themselves but must be approached as parts of the whole. In contrast, insofar as any narrative can be said to operate only on the level of plot, the chronicle episode looks like narrative whose meaning is to be sought merely in what happens. This is not just because, as Cecily Clark has so persuasively observed, 'annalists . . . simply record events as they occur',²² or because their 'chief virtue' is always 'objectivity' (p. 224), but also because the treatment of characters in the annal is inconsistent. To be sure, Cynewulf dethrones Sigeberht with the apparent approval of the *Witan*, sends him into exile only after Cumbra's death, fights successfully against the Britons, and reigns for twenty-nine years. Yet in presenting these virtues the chronicler shows a measured restraint which a saga author seldom attempts. Much the same impartiality is observable in the presentation of Cyneheard. Nothing suggests that his claim to the throne is less worthy than his kinsman's, no character flaws explain his failure, and nothing in his conduct implies that he would be unsuitable for the office of king. His challenge to Cynewulf and his temporary victory simply happen. Cynewulf seems to have maintained power, if any explanation at all is offered, because of his prowess in battle and, following Sverre Bagge,²³ his ability to attract adherents; he loses throne and life because Cyneheard surprises and overcomes him. We might conclude that the annalist's creed, his commitment to objectivity, prevents him from taking sides, but contradicting this view is the occasional lowering of his shield of neutrality. For example, Sigeberht's 'unjust acts', his killing of Cumbra, and his ignominious fall at the hands of the swain suggest the annalist's lack of regard for Sigeberht and all his works. Furthermore, one passage in particular violates all the rules of annalistic impartiality:

Onð þā gebēad hē him hiera āgenne dōm fēos onð londes, gif
hīe him þæs rīces uþon; onð him cȳþdon þæt hiera mægas him
mid wæron, þā þe him from noldon. Onð þā cuædon hīe þæt him
nænig mæg lēofra nære þonne hiera hlāford, onð hie næfre his
banan folgian noldon. Onð þā budon hīe hiera mægum þæt hīe
gesunde from ēodon; onð hie cuædon þæt tæt ilce hiera gefērun

beboden wære þe ær mid þām cyninge wærun. þā cuædon hīe þæt hīe hīe þæs ne onmunden 'þon mā þe eowre geferan þe mid þam cyninge ofslægene wærun'. Ond hīe þā ymb þā gatu feohtende wæron oþ þæt hīe þærinne fulgon ond þone æþeling ofslogon ond þā men þe him mid wærun, alle būtan ānum, sē wæs þæs aldormonnes godsunu; ond hē his feorh generede, ond þēah hē wæs oft gewundad.

[And then he offered them money and land according to their own judgement, if they would permit him the kingdom, and told them that their kinsmen, who would not (go) from him, were inside with him. And then they said that that no kinsman was dearer to them than their lord, and they never would follow his killer. And then they offered their kinsmen that they go away in health; and they said that that same offer had been made to their comrades who had been with the king. Then they said that they would no more consider it, 'than (did) your companions who were slain with the king'. And then they were fighting around the gates until they broke in and slew that atheling and those men who were with him, all except one alone, that was the godson of the ealdorman; and he saved his life, although he was often wounded.]

We observe how the annalist compromises balance by allowing Cyneheard's adherents to express their loyalty before dying at his side. They achieve a heroic stature almost equalling that of Cynewulf himself. The verbal exchange is almost certainly a fiction apparently designed to make some statement about the event. But, indeed, what statement? Because the chronicler focuses on minor characters and creates speaking parts for them, their verbal exchange must be important. But what, apart from expressing obvious loyalty, do the heroic last words signify? We would gladly witness such an exchange between Cynewulf and Cyneheard, especially one in which a discussion of past grievances would dispel much of the mist surrounding their history. At least the dialogue shows that the annalist had the ability to depict such a scene between the two mighty opposites even if he lacked judgment in reserving it for the anonymous peripheral retainers. Why the annal took its present shape can only be a matter of speculation, but whatever the reasons it looks like a skeleton of historical facts – Cynewulf seized power, reigned long, died violently –

upon which the flesh of traditional narrative devices has been grafted for dramatic effect.

A third difference between annal and saga involves their respective narrative voices.²⁴ The saga author poses as an historian who relates only what has been preserved by tradition and what, therefore, is true. He purports to invent nothing. This feature is all part of seeing everything from a distance, a narrative mode that creates the atmosphere of second-hand narration that is, nevertheless, rarely impartial or unbiased. Sometimes footnotes in the form of skaldic verse document an event. Thus, this purveyor of second-hand information is omniscient in that he is reliable, well informed, and informative. But he is reticent and reserved and, on occasion, even hesitant. He often tells us what to think of the characters – they are promising, quarrelsome, or agreeable – but hardly ever what they are thinking. Even on the rare occasion when he hints at a character's thoughts – 'hann sagðist þaðan af . . .' [he said from then on . . .] – they are seen to be a matter of public record, for recording the unknowable seems, as a matter of unwritten narrative law, to have been prohibited. We are never invited inside characters' minds or expected to imagine ourselves performing their feats, for saga heroes are too grand to be emulated. But we are meant to understand how and why they act. Peter Brooks characterises this narrative feature as 'laconic chasteness'.²⁵ The saga narrator's chasteness is nevertheless limited, for all literary conventions are illusions, slight of hand manoeuvres designed to disguise the reported as the real. Another saga illusion is the apparently greater interest shown in characters' deeds rather than in their motives. This cannot really be the case or sagas would be considerably less fascinating than they, in fact, are, but such nonchalance accounts for the misguided notion – still current – that sagas are objective. Sagas always take sides, though occasionally we wonder why. Sometimes we cannot even be sure where the narrator's sympathies lie. This feature of apparent objectivity arises from observing behaviour from a distance, recording traditional data, and passing along community wisdom. If ever there were a case of a supreme authority standing aloof pairing his fingernails while his creations make their own way through the text, it is this phlegmatic Icelandic voice. Reading a saga, finally, is to participate in a conspiracy with a narrator who never tells us what characters are thinking or rarely why they act but who lays down a trail of clues that allows us to imagine the possibilities.

The Anglo-Saxon chronicler, in contrast, is more or less what the saga author pretends to be, a recorder of a tradition with less than perfect command of the facts. He was not present when events took place, and he must rely on what others have

told him, written down, recorded in oral tradition, perhaps even witnessed first-hand. If he does not tell us a character's name, then this is probably because the tradition has not preserved it and not because the omission fits some design. In comparison to a saga narrative voice, the annalist gives the impression that he has not been talking to the right people or that he has been inattentive. Of course, this lack of information density probably derives from the undeveloped nature of the traditions, both the oral and the written ones. We can imagine that the Icelandic tradition once looked like this, but what has survived represents what must be a much later development. In this sense there are no origins of the family saga; it was born in full flower, perfectly and fully evolved for its task.²⁶ From the earliest to the latest extant sagas, insofar as we can date them at all,²⁷ everything bears the mark of highly refined craftsmanship. The narrator of the annal, on the other hand, is still groping for a comprehensible tale. He has a few rhetorical aces up his sleeve, even though they seem to drop out at the wrong moments. Guiding us through the murky paths of history by means of helpful comment here and there is not, however, one of his long-suits. His withheld commentary obfuscates the relation between events without achieving a compensatory balanced point of view. We sense his sympathy for Cynewulf, and his opposition to Cyneheard, without being shown why we should share these emotions. The narrative voice of the annal is, finally, not so much unbiased as unfocused. The result is that 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard' tells us scarcely more about their feud than would a tabular listing of the facts.

2

In looking outside the Anglo-Saxon tradition for the missing context of 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard', Old English scholars have unfortunately overlooked C. E. Wright's cogent suggestion that 'it is with the few short vivid sagas of the *Landnámabók* . . . that we must compare the Anglo-Saxon sagas – the story of Cynewulf and Cyneheard, of Queen Eadburh, of St. Gregory and the slave boys, of the scene in the Northumbrian Council chamber, of the murder of Abbot Byrhtnoth'.²⁸ Wright might well have been thinking of the tribulations of the blood-brothers, Ingólf Arnarson and Leifr Hróðmarsson (SH6), of Björn Hrólfsson's quarrels with Norwegian noblemen (S217), of Þorbjörn enn digri's lawsuits and demise (S79), of Ljótr á Ingjaldssandi's tempestuous career (S142), or of numerous other short sketches that comprise a tradition of vigorous narrative writing based on

oral or written accounts of parahistorical figures.²⁹ In proposing to demonstrate the validity of Wright's notion, I wish to test the claim made above that sagas tell us more about the past than can any summary of their plot by comparing 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard' with three types of entries narrating extended conflict in *Landnámabók*. Most like 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard', the first type tells a story that has no saga analogue. The second type resembles 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard' in style but differs from it in having a saga analogue which tells the story more fully. Finally, the third type tells a complete story and, in addition, has a saga counterpart that treats character and event differently.³⁰ But first a few words about this document.

If we assume, along with Jón Jóhannesson and Jakob Benediktsson,³¹ that *Landnámabók* was compiled (1) to counter foreigners' insults about the nature of Icelanders, (2) to provide a handbook on genealogy, and (3) to follow the examples of other nations in recording the country's origins, then it follows that the work is unlikely to be objective.³² We might regard its accounts as balanced, persuasive, restrained, accurate, or even reliable, but they cannot by definition be neutral or impartial or unbiassed. Naturally, this perspective does not mean that *Landnámabók* glorifies Iceland's earliest ancestors, but rather suggests that the book will have a certain slant to it; we are not apt to confuse its tone with the negative attitudes expressed in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* or by other English chroniclers recounting viking attacks.³³ At the very least, we expect that the Icelandic settlers who did anything memorable will find their way into the collection and that inclusion in *Landnámabók* encodes a favourable attitude towards them. This attitude embraces the vast majority of those who only settled land, did not in any way distinguish themselves, and appear only as names, accounting for a certain monotony in the book and no doubt explaining why it is little studied by literary historians. Those settlers who behaved nobly are given pride of place, the occasional Christian among the early inhabitants singled out, and acts of valour, generosity, courage and even eccentricity dwelled on fondly. The sub-text to all this is 'Here are people we Icelanders can be proud of!' To be sure, there were rogues among these early settlers, people whose greed, sense of their own importance, and downright nastiness caused friction. These people must also be brought on stage, if for no other reason than to complete the picture. On the other hand, settlers are repeatedly said to be proud people who refused to bow to Norwegian kings and petty despots and who were thus forced to flee Norway. This dispossessed nobility must be expected to act independently, if not obstreperously, now and then, so the compilers

might have argued, but such stiff moral fibre was necessary to forge a viable society in a rough world lacking centralised authority. A less sympathetic way of reading this text, of course, is to say that many of these settlers came to Iceland to practice their own brand of tyranny, first come, first serve, and everybody else keep out of the way. All in all, expressing an attitude towards this range of human types was not necessary given the work's agenda, and the reticent narrator was thus an ideal mediator between those wishing to prop up a flagging sense of national pride and those extolling a golden age of larger-than-life, real flesh-and-blood ancestors. We can now turn to the narrative types themselves.

3

Type One in *Landnámabók* consists of occasionally fuzzy narrative summaries having no saga analogues. Similar to 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard' in that they stand alone, some, but by no means all,³⁴ of these entries are inferior to the *Chronicle* entry in narrative power and technique. The following entry, S111, for example, has all the ingredients for a stirring tale of deception, betrayal, and treachery, but something has obviously gone wrong in its telling:

I. (A) Kjallakr hét maðr, son Bjarnar ens sterka, bróður Gjaflaugar, er átti Björn enn austroeni; hann fór til Íslands ok nam land frá Dögurðará til Klofninga ok bjó á Kjallaksstöðum. Hans son var Helgi hrogn ok Þorgrímr þongull undir Felli, Eilífr prúði, Ásbjörn vöðvi á Orrastoðum, Björn hvalmaga í Túngarði, Þorsteinn þynning, Gizurr glaði í Skoravík, Þorbjörn skrofuðr á Ketilsstöðum, Æsa í Svíney, móðir Eyjólfss ok Tin-Forna.

(B) Ljótólfr hét maðr; honum gaf Kjallakr bústað á Ljótólfsstöðum inn frá Kaldakinn; hans synir vóru Þorsteinn ok Björn ok Hrafsi; hann var risættar at móðerni. Ljótólfr var járnsmiðr. Þeir réðusk út í Fellsskóga á Ljótólfsstaði. Vífill var vin þeira, er bjó á Vífillstöptum.

(C) Þórunn at Þórunnartóptum var móðir Oddmars ok fóstira Kjallaks, sonar Bjarnar hvalmaga.

[I. (A) Kjallakr was the name of a man, the son of Björn the Strong, the brother of Gjaflaug, who was married to Björn the

Easterner; he went to Iceland and settled land between the Dǫgurðará and Klofningar and lived at Kjallaksstaðir. His sons were Helgi Roe and Þorgrímr Tangle-Weed of Fell, Eilífr the Magnificent, Asbjörn Muscle of Orrastaðir, Björn Whale-Belly of Túngarðr, Þorsteinn the Thinning, Gizurr the Gleeeful, Þorbjörn the Chatterer of Ketilsstaðir, Æsa of Sviney, the mother of Eyjólfur and Tin-Forni.

(B) Ljótólfur was the name of a man; Kjallakr gave him farmland at Ljótólfsstaðir east of Kaldakinn; his sons were Þorsteinn and Björn and Hrafsi; he was descended from giants on his mother's side. Ljótólfur was a smith. They moved out to Ljótólfsstaðir in Fellsskógi. Vífill was a friend of theirs and lived at Vífillstóftir.

(C) Þórunn of Þórunnartóptir was the mother of Oddmarr and foster-mother to Kjallakr, the son of Björn Whale-Belly.]

II. Álof, dóttir Þorgríms undir Felli, tók ærsl; þat kenndu menn Hrafsa, en hann tók Oddmar hjá hvílu hennar, ok (1) *sagði hann sik valda*. Þá gaf Þorgrímr (2) *honum* Deildarey. (3) *Hrafsi kvazk mundu hoggva Oddmar á Birni áðr hann bætti fyrir hann*. (4) *Eigi vildi Kjallakr láta eyna*. Hrafsi tók fé þeira ór torfnausti. Kjallakssynir fóru eptir ok náðu eigi. Eptir þat stukku þeir (4) [Eilífr] ok Hrafsi í eyna. Qr kom í þarminn [Eilífs ígrás], ok hamaðisk hann.

[Álof, the daughter of Þorgrímr of Fell, went insane; Hrafsi was blamed for this, but he took Oddmarr by her bed and (1) Oddmarr said he was guilty. (2) Þorgrímr then gave Hrafsi [?] Deildarey. Hrafsi said he would kill Oddmarr 'on' Björn³⁵ before [unless?] he [Björn] paid him compensation. (3) Kjallakr did not want to give up the island. Hrafsi took their money from a boat house. The sons of Kjallakr went after him but did not catch him. (4) Afterwards Eilífr and Hrafsi fled to the island. An arrow hit Eilífr the Greyish in the gut, and he writhed in agony.]

III. Björn hvalmági vá Björn Ljótólfsson at leik. Þeir Ljótólfur keyptu at Oddmari, at hann kæmi Birni í fœri. Kjallakr ungi rann

eptir honum. Eigi varð hann sótt, áðr þeir tóku sveininn. Kjallak vágu þeir á Kjallakshóli. Eptir þat sóttu Kjallakssynir Ljótólf ok Þorstein í jarðhús í Fellsskógum, ok fann Eilífr annan munna; gekk hann á bak þeim ok vá þá báða.

[Björn Whale-Belly killed Björn Ljótólfsson in a game. Ljótólf and his sons bribed Oddmarr to lure Björn into range. Kjallakr the Younger ran after him. He [Björn] was not attacked until they had taken the boy. They killed Kjallakr at Kjallakshóll. Afterwards the sons of Kjallakr attacked Ljótólf and Þorsteinn in an underground house in Fellsskógi, and Eilífr found the other [secret] opening; he came up behind them and killed them both.]

IV. Hrafsi gekk inn á Orrastöðum at boði; hann var í kvenfötum. Kjallakr sat á palli með skjöld. Hrafsi hjó hann Ásbjörn banahogg ok gekk út um vegg.

[Hrafsi walked in to a feast at Orrastaðir; he was dressed in women's clothes. Kjallakr sat on the dias with a shield. Hrafsi gave Ásbjörn a deathblow and went out through the wall.]

V. Þórðr Vífilsson sagði Hrafsa, at yxni hans lægi í keldu; hann bar skjöld hans. Hrafsi fleygði honum fyrir kleif, er hann sá Kjallakssonu. Eigi gátu þeir sótt hann, áðr þeir felldu viðu at honum. (5) *Eilífr sat hjá*, er þeir sóttu hann. ³⁶ (S 111: 147-48)
[Þórðr Vífilsson told Hrafsi that his oxen were mired in the mud; he [Þórðr] bore his [Hrafsi's] shield. Hrafsi threw him over the cliff when he saw the sons of Kjallakr. They were not able to overcome him until they bore him down with boards. (5) Eilífr sat idly by when they attacked him.]

I have attempted to make sense of this jumbled story,³⁷ sometimes referred to as a summary of **Kjalleklinga saga*, by dividing the entry into five parts; I, the list of characters, and II-V, the narrative segments. Within part I, I have further divided the feuding parties into three groups, A, B, and C. The eleven names in bold font in I appear on stage in II-V where, in addition, Álof and Þórðr Vífilsson appear without being named in I. The italicised bits constitute special problems. The entry is reminiscent of some of the elements in Cassidy and Ringler's characterization (see

above, note 8) of 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard' the obligation to seek vengeance, split loyalties (Eilífr's), the objective tone, and pronoun ambiguity. Most of all, however, the two entries resemble each other in raising unanswerable questions by biting off more plot than they can chew.³⁸ The following attempt to summarise this entry demonstrates where it goes wrong.

(II) A woman, Alþf, loses, her sanity, and Hrafsi is blamed. But he then discovers Oddmarr by her bed, who confesses to causing her breakdown.³⁹ As a result Þorgrímr gives Hrafsi an island, but the latter threatens to kill Oddmarr if not compensated by Björn. Kjallakr refuses to hand over the island, and in retaliation Hrafsi and Eilífr Kjallaksson⁴⁰ take money belonging to the sons of Kjallakr and escape to the island where Eilífr is wounded. (III) Björn Whale-Belly, the son of Kjallakr, kills Björn Ljótólfsson in a game, and in revenge Ljótólfr and his sons, Þorsteinn and Hrafsi, kill Björn and his young son, Kjallakr. The sons of Kjallakr retaliate by killing Ljótólfr and his son Þorsteinn; Eilífr plays the major role here. (IV) Hrafsi evens the score somewhat by killing one of Kjallakr's sons, Ásbjörn, at a feast. (V) The entry concludes with Hrafsi's death.

Nothing will be gained by listing all of the difficulties in this reading, but a brief look at the five passages numbered with Arabic numerals will help to demonstrate the entry's similarity to 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard'. (1) and (2) show a difficulty with pronoun reference; (3) is obscure because it is unidiomatic, whereas the confusion of (4) results from crowding too much plot into the summary; (5) Eilífr has the makings of a tragic hero but for the lack of detail that renders his allegiance to Hrafsi unclear. In fact, if this entry were the only lengthy narrative in this part of *Landnámabók*, then scholars might well have performed the kind of imaginative interpretations on Kjallakr and Hrafsi that have accumulated around Cynewulf and Cyneheard.⁴¹ In short, the entry presents us with an Icelandic counterpart to the *Chronicle* account of Anglo-Saxon feud.

4

Type Two: In demonstrating that 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard' resembles a *Landnámabók* entry, I have in a sense already proved that the *Chronicle* entry is not like a saga. But a comparison that concentrates exclusively on similarities is of limited value; to be effective it must show that the object being defined also differs in essential features from like members of its class. That is, all apples may be round,

but in classifying them we feature their differences. For this reason my discussion of type two will focus on a difference between the Icelandic and the Anglo-Saxon entries, for while this type resembles 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard' in telling a memorable, yet occasionally indistinct, tale, it differs from the Old English passage in having a saga analogue that shows how annal and saga vary in handling the same narrative events. S79 is an example of type two and can be divided into two parts, the first of which narrates four events similar both to those in 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard' and in *Eyrbyggja saga*. The italicised sections correspond to their analogues in the saga. The second part will be dealt with later.⁴²

Ormr enn mjóvi hét maðr, er kom skipi sínu í Fróðárós ok bjó á Brimilsvøllum um hríð. (1) Hann rak á brutt Óláf belg ok nam Víkina gömlu milli Ennis ok Hofða ok bjó þá at Fróðá. Hans son var Þorbjörn enn digri; hann átti fyrr Þuríði, dóttur Ásbrands frá Kambi, ok váru þeira börn Ketill kappi, Hallsteinn ok Gunnlaugr ok Þorgerðr, er átti Onundr sjóni. Þorbjörn átti síðar Þuríði, dóttur Barkar ens digra ok Þórdísar Súrsdóttur. (2) *Þorbjörn enn digri stefndi Geirríði Bægifótsdóttur um fjölkynngi, (3) eptir þat er Gunnlaugr, son hans, dó af meini því, er hann tók, þá er hann fór at nema fróðleik at Geirríði. Hon var móðir Þórarins í Mávahlíð. (4) Um þá sök var Arnkell goði kvaddr tólfarkvoð, ok bar hann af, því at Þórarinn vann eið at stallahring ok hratt svá málinu.* (S79: 112, 114)

[Ormr the Slender was the name of a man whose ship landed at Fróðárós and who lived at Brimilvellir for a while. (1) He drove Óláfr Bag away and took possession of Vík gamla between Enni and Hofði and then lived at Fróðá. His son was Þorbjörn the Stout; he had been married to Þuríðr, the daughter of Ásbrandr from Kambr, and their children were Ketill the Champion, Hallsteinn, Gunnlaugr, and Þorgerðr, who married Onundr the Atoner. Þorbjörn later married Þuríðr, the daughter of Þorkr the Stout and Þórdís, the daughter of Súrr. (2) *Þorbjörn the Stout summoned Geirríðr the daughter of Þórófr the Club Foot for sorcery (3) after his son Gunnlaugr died from the injury that he had sustained when he went to take instruction in magic from Geirríðr. She was the mother of Þórarinn of Mávahlíð. (4)*

Arnkell the Chieftain was called on to form a panel of twelve in the case, and he pronounced Geirríðr not guilty because Þórarinn swore an oath on the sacred ring and thus invalidated the case.]

At least four similarities between this summary and 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard' require comment. First, incident (1) resembles in its reticence 'Hēr Cynewulf benam Sigebryht his rīces ond Westseaxna wiotan for unryhtum dǣdum, būton Hamtūnscīre' [Here Cynewulf and the West-Saxon Witan deprived Sigebryht of his kingdom, except for Hampshire, because of his unjust deeds]. The information imparted, in both cases unreported outside their entries, whets without satisfying our curiosity. While we do not know why Ormr drove Óláfr away, we may surmise that this was simply a landgrab of the kind reported elsewhere in *Landnámabók* and the sagas.⁴³ Whereas we do know why Cynewulf banished Sigebryht, we know nothing of the latter's 'unjust deeds'. Second, event (2) offers more information than (1), but still is stylistically reminiscent of 'ond hē hæfde þā oþ hē ofslōg þone aldorman þe him lengest wunode' [and he (Sigebryht) retained that until he slew that ealdorman who had supported him the longest]. Again both the Icelandic and English statements dangle events before us but tell us less than we would like to know. Third, like 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard', S79 as a whole raises questions it does not answer (1) Does Geirríðr really cause Gunnlaugr's death? (2) If not, who does and why? (3) How could a chieftain exonerate his sister simply because her son swore that she was innocent? Fourth and most important, S79's apparent impartiality, like that of 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard', is a by-product of summary rather than the consequence of a political or philosophical commitment. We will see later that Sturla was capable of developing an attitude towards character and event, but in this entry we cannot tell whether the implied narrator regards the verdict as just or not.⁴⁴ In short, both annal entries summarise potentially exciting stories without providing the reader with narrative focus; things merely seem to happen. This difficulty arises, I would argue, chiefly from crowding too many incidents and characters into too little narrative space (see note 38). A chronicler, after all, simply does not have the leisure to expound on matters in the manner of a saga. Whether Sturla had the motive remains to be seen.

The chief reason for examining S79 is to demonstrate the differences between a saga's and an annal's narrative modes: a saga frames incidents, whereas an annal strings them together, often leaving out explanatory connecting links. For example, S79 summarises a tale so drastically that we cannot confidently reconstruct the

original episode. On the other hand, *Eyrbyggja saga* shows us one possible treatment of these events. It tells not so much a more complete story as a completely different one. More than a précis of its parts, it prepares the lawsuit in advance and develops a point of view towards the litigants. In *Landnámabók*, in contrast, the lawsuit is important apparently because it initiates the enmity between two prominent chieftains, Snorri and Arnkell 'Af þessu gerðisk fjándskapr þeira Arnkels ok Snorra goða'. (ÍF, I, p. 114) [As a result the enmity between Arnkell and Snorri began]. The saga (in Chapters 15-16), however, is more specific, condemning the prosecution and explaining why Snorri loses this his first lawsuit.⁴⁵ Let us examine how the saga accomplishes the framing.

First, the saga dramatises Geirríðr's innocence. The saga agrees with *Landnámabók* that she instructs Gunnlaugr in the mysteries of magic, but adds that she must compete for his attention with Katla, a stunning but dangerous witch who repeatedly offers to introduce the young man to some of life's physical mysteries as well. Stung by his rebuffs, Katla finally retaliates by 'riding'⁴⁶ him. Thus, Katla is responsible for Gunnlaugr's subsequent injury – from which, in contrast to *Landnámabók*, he apparently recovers. Geirríðr is suspected only because Oddr, obviously acting as a tool to deflect guilt away from his evil mother, accuses her of the crime. Thus, Þorbjörn and Snorri sue the wrong woman.⁴⁷

Second, the saga hints at Þorbjörn's and Snorri's motives for conducting the suit. Þorbjörn must prosecute *someone* for his son's injuries; for psychological reasons, he must seek retribution, and he will lose face if punishment does not occur. Arguably, Þorbjörn chooses to sue Geirríðr in order to reactivate the feud between the Þórsnesingar (Chapters 9 and 10), to whom he belongs by marriage, and the Kjalleklingar, a family from whom Vermundr mjóvi, Geirríðr's son-in-law, is a descendant; as a new in-law, he may be trying to increase his standing in the Þórsnesingar-family. Perhaps for this reason, he naively believes Oddr's testimony or, alternatively, cynically exploits it to build his flimsy case. In either event, Þorbjörn is guilty of faulty judgement. Another possibility is that, as Konrad Maurer points out,⁴⁸ Geirríðr comes from Halogaland, a region in northern Norway where contact with Lapps, famous for sorcery, was a feature of daily life. Thus, she would automatically be regarded with suspicion by the community at large. This circumstance may have convinced Þorbjörn that he could easily obtain a conviction against her, as he is, after all, a bully 'Þorbjörn var mikill fyrir sér ok ósvífr við sér minni menn' (ÍF, IV, p. 27) [Þorbjörn was a powerful man and overbearing towards lesser men]. Finally, Þorbjörn's motives may be irrelevant to the narrative;

given his character type, whatever he does is evil. Snorri, on the other hand, appears to be drawn into the suit because, as a member of the Þórsnesingar by birth, he must support his brother-in-law, Þorbjörn – 'ok veitti Snorri goði Þorbirni, mági sínum' (ÍF, IV, p. 30) [and Snorri goði supported his kinsman, Þorbjörn]. Perhaps because he seems not to have been a party to the original decision to prosecute, he gets off rather lightly when the verdict goes against them. Part of the subtlety of the narration is that we wait for later developments in order to form an opinion as to what Snorri thinks of this pack of evil-doers. Whatever Þorbjörn's motives, and no matter what Snorri thinks of them, their case collapses.

Third, the saga's exoneration of Geirríðr is difficult for legal historians to explain,⁴⁹ but Helgi Hofgarðagoði's verdict makes sense if we regard it as the community's (and the narrator's) vote in favour of Arnkell over Snorri. In *Landnámabók* Arnkell delivers the verdict, but surely the saga is more effective in allowing non-family members to exercise this function.⁵⁰ The saga has the panel of twelve say, in effect, that only someone foolish enough to believe Oddr would regard Geirríðr guilty as charged. They explicitly accept the testimony of her brother and her son over Oddr's, and the reader accepts this verdict regardless of how much it may violate legal procedure. As Snorri's role in the suit is passive, the implicit lesson he learns from this defeat is either to avoid disputes contested by stupid and evil relatives, or to align himself with men whose power compensates for their lack of character. This is arguably one reason why he marries Víga-Styrr's daughter Ásdís, to form an alliance that will increase his influence: 'var Snorri goði ráðagörðarmaðr meiri ok vitrari, en Styrr atgöngumeiri' (ÍF, IV, p. 75) [Snorri was a better legal advisor and more clever, but Styrr was more aggressive]. And the lesson he learns he bears in mind for the rest of his life.

The second half of the entry further treats the aftermath of the lawsuit:

- (1) En eptir þat hurfu Þorbirni stóðhross á fjalli. Þat kenndi hann Þórarni ok fór í Mávalíð ok setti duradóm. Þeir vátu tólf, en þeir Þórarinn vátu sjau fyrir: Álfgeirr Suðreyingr ok Nagli ok Björn austmaðr ok húskarlar þrír. Þeir hleypðu upp dómnum ok bորðusk þar í túninu. Auðr, kona Þórarins, hét á konur at skilja þá. Einn maðr fell af Þórarni, en tveir af Þorbirni. Þeir Þorbjörn fóru á brutt ok bundu sár sín hjá stakkgarði upp með Vágum.
- (2) Hōnd Auðar fannsk í túni; því fór Þórarinn eptir þeim ok fann þá hjá garðinum. Nagli hljóp grátandi um þá ok í fjall upp. Þar

vá Þórarinn Þorbjörn ok særði Hallstein til ólífis. Fimm menn fellu þar af Þorbirni. Þeir Arnkell ok Vermundr veittu Þórarni ok hofðu setu at Arnkels.

(3) Snorri goði mælti eptir Þorbjörn ok sekði þá alla, er at vígum hofðu verit, á Þórsnesþingi. Eptir þat brenndi hann skip þeira Álfgeirs í Salteyrarósi. Arnkell keypti þeim skip í Dögurðarnesi ok fylgði þeim út um eyjar. Af þessu gerðisk fjándskapr þeira Arnkels ok Snorra goða. Ketill kappi var þá útan; hann var faðir Hróðnýjar, er átti Þorsteinn, son Víga-Styrs. (S79: 114)

[(1) But afterwards Þorbjörn's stud horses disappeared from their mountain pasture. He blamed Þórarinn for that and went over to Mávahlíð and held a door-court. They were twelve, and Þórarinn and his men were seven against: Álfgeirr the Hebridean and Nagli and Björn the Easterner and three farmhands. They broke up the court and fought there in the home-field. Auðr, Þórarinn's wife, ordered the women to separate them. One man from Þórarinn's side fell, and two from Þorbjörn's. Þorbjörn and his men went away and bound their wounds beside a haystack near Vágar.

(2) Auðr's hand was found in the home-field. As a result Þórarinn went after them and found them beside the haystack. Crying, Nagli ran past them up the mountain. Then Þórarinn killed Þorbjörn and wounded Hallsteinn mortally. Five men from Þorbjörn's side fell. Arnkell and Vermundr supported Þórarinn and kept a force of men at Arnkell's.

(3) Snorri the Chieftain took over the case relating to Þorbjörn's killing and at the Þórsnes assembly got all of them who had been at the killing outlawed. After that he burned Álfgeirr and his men's ship at Salteyraróss. Arnkell bought them a ship in Dögurðarnes and accompanied them out to the islands. As a result the enmity between Arnkell and Snorri began. Ketill the Champion was abroad at the time; he was the father of Hróðný, who was married to Þorsteinn Killer-Styrsson.]

Like the account of Cynewulf's deposing of Sigeberht, the treatment of the three narrative events above is remarkably impartial, especially in light of their slanted

depiction in *Eyrbyggja saga*. We cannot tell whether Þórarinn is guilty of stealing the horses, or why he broke up the 'door-court'. We perceive that one of Þorbjörn's men injured Auðr and that it causes Þórarinn's violent attack, but details are lacking. Even if the story explains why Arnkell and Snorri became enemies, more questions are raised than are answered. Moreover, as in 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard's' attention to the loyal retainers, the concern that *S79* shows the minor character, Nagli, seems misplaced. Once again, the summary is too compact to do narrative justice to the events.

Eyrbyggja saga, however, shapes these raw materials to expose Þorbjörn's lawsuit as trumped up and to characterise his death as just. The saga shows Þorbjörn twisting the law to gain revenge for the humiliation he suffered at losing the lawsuit against Þórarinn's mother, Geirríðr. Once again, Þorbjörn picks on an assumed easy victim, but this time his miscalculation costs him his life. Once more Oddr's lies form the basis for Þorbjörn's action, but as he becomes more desperate, his scheming becomes more obvious. In the first lawsuit Þorbjörn may have been duped by Oddr's lies, but here Þorbjörn obviously plans on their incriminating Þórarinn. In possession of a phony charge, Þorbjörn rides over to Þórarinn's and, after having begun but then broken off the 'rannsókn' [search], summons him for theft. The resulting skirmish routs Þorbjörn and his men, who retreat to another field where they lick their wounds before Þórarinn descends upon them.

This partisan narrative portrays Þórarinn as pushed beyond the limits a reasonable man can be expected to tolerate. He submits to Þorbjörn's search of his house – as, indeed, according to law he must⁵¹ – but then allows Þorbjörn to summon him without proof of his guilt. It is only after his mother's goading that he breaks up the *duradómr*, in the circumstances a legally justifiable reaction.⁵² Nothing serious happens – a couple of *húskarlar* ('servants') on Þorbjörn's side and one on Þórarinn's fall – before Auðr and her female helpers part the men. But then disaster strikes when a severed hand is discovered on the ground. *Landnámabók* makes no attempt to dramatise this event, but the saga's handling of it is masterful (ÍF, IV, p. 36). Although the tension does increase in proportion to Þórarinn's growing realization that Auðr has suffered grievous injury, the delay in identifying the hand does more than simply create suspense. More importantly, as the narrator takes us methodically through the stages of Þórarinn's discovery – he asks about his wife, learns that she has taken to her bed, goes to her, asks about her well-being, receives her reassurance, sees that she is missing a hand, requests his mother to care for her, and then rushes off to pursue Þorbjörn (ÍF, IV, p. 36) – we sense that the

narration's deliberate pace represents Þórarinn's attempts to curb his mounting rage. Usually, sagas communicate a character's anger by describing his appearance.⁵³ But in *Eyrbyggja saga* the code operates on a higher frequency by directing our attention to what a character observes in order to express what we must imagine him thinking. This time he needs no mother's urging to act the part of an avenging hero. Oddr adds insult to Auðr's injury when he jokes that Þórarinn himself cut off his wife's hand, a remark that Þórarinn overhears just before he kills Þorbjörn. That it later is revealed that Oddr had been boasting of cutting off Auðr's hand merely adds to our satisfaction in seeing raw saga justice meted out. We know that a lawsuit must follow and that Þórarinn must pay a price for his act, but our sympathies are completely with him against Þorbjörn and his accomplices. No matter what clever strategies Snorri will devise to exact compensation or revenge, we sense that he will scarcely be able to remove the shame Þorbjörn has brought down upon the family. In fact, Þórarinn gets off lightly and is ushered formulaically out of the saga, and people regard Arnkell's support as noble indeed.

If 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard' had analogues that filled in the gaps in our knowledge of the two kinsmen, it would, in some respects, resemble this second type. Moreover, this *Landnámabók* entry provides a classic example of how intertextuality works. Once we know the *Eyrbyggja saga* analogues, we are better equipped to appreciate the difficulties in *Landnámabók*. Indeed, the analogues allow us to fill in gaps in the record, to understand what is not clear and what is different. The entry itself thus has a meaning that depends upon its relationship to a text outside *Landnámabók*. As matters stand with respect to the Anglo-Saxon tradition, however, we must live with 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard's' narrative incompleteness.

5

Type Three: This type, which consists of narratives that differ significantly from their saga analogues, completes the picture I am attempting to draw of a context in which to place 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard'.⁵⁴ One of the types, S142, develops a coherent plot, a unified theme, and appealing sketches of the settlers it commemorates. In addition, while the saga analogue (Chapter 14 of *Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings*) serves as a foil that highlights and defines the special character of the type, it in no way changes how we read the *Landnámabók* entry, which stands on its own as a definitive source of information. If we knew nothing else about these

characters than what the entry tells us, we would still have a sense of what some *Landnámabók* personages were like and why they performed the deeds ascribed to them. Let us look at S142, in which the chief figure, Ljótr inn spaki ('the Wise'), occupies the spotlight

(1) Ljótr enn spaki bjó at Ingjaldssandi, son Þorgríms Harðrefssonar, en móðir hans var Rannveig, dóttir Grjótgarðs jarls. Þorgrímr gagarr var son Ljóts. Halldísi systur Ljóts átti Þorbjörn Þjóðreksson, en Ásdísi, aðra systur Ljóts, nam Óspakr Ósvífrsson; um þá sök sótti Ljótr Óspak til sekðar. Úlfr hét son þeira; þann fæddi Ljótr.

(2) Grímr kǫgurr bjó á Brekku; hans synir váru þeir Sigurðr ok Þorkell, litlir menn ok smáir. Þórarinn hét fósterson Ljóts. Ljótr kaupir slátr at Grími til tuttugu hundraða ok galt læk, er fell meðal landa þeira; sá hét Ósómi. Grímr veitti hann á eng sína ok gróf land Ljóts, en hann gaf sök á því, ok var fátt með þeim. Ljótr tók við austmanni í Vaðli; sá lagði hug á Ásdísi.

(3) Gestr Oddleifsson sótti haustboð til Ljóts; þá kom þar Egill Völu-Steinsson ok bað Gest, at hann legði ráð til, at fœður hans bættisk helstríð, er hann bar um Ögmund, son sinn. Gestr orti upphaf at Ögmundardrápu. Ljótr spurði Gest, hvat manna Þorgrímr gagarr mundi verða. Gestr kvað Þórarin fóstara hans, frægra mundu verða ok bað Þórarinn við sjá, at eigi vefðisk hár þat um hǫfuð honum, er lá á tungu hans.

(4) Óvirðing þótti Ljóti þetta ok spurði um morguninn, hvat fyrir Þorgrími lægi. Gestr kvað Úlf systurson hans mundu frægra verða. Þá varð Ljótr reiðr ok reið þó á leið með Gestu ok spurði: 'Hvat mun mér at bana verða?' Gestr kvazk eigi sjá ørlög hans, en bað hann vera vel við nábúa sína. Ljótr spurði: 'Munu jarðlýsnar, synir Gríms kogurs, verða mér at bana?' 'Sárt býtr soltin lús', kvað Gestr. 'Hvar mun þat verða?' kvað Ljótr. 'Heðra nær', kvað Gestr.

(5) Austmaðr reiddi Gest á heiði upp ok studdi Gest á baki, er hestr rasaði undir honum. Þá mælti Gestr: 'Happ sótti þik nú, en brátt mun annat; gættu, at þér verði þat eigi at óhappi'. Austmaðurinn fann grafsilfr, er hann fór heim, ok tók af tuttugu

penninga ok ætlaði, at hann mundi feta til síðar; en er hann leitaði, fann hann eigi; en Ljótr fekk tekit hann, er hann var at grefti, ok gerði af honum þrjú hundruð fyrir hvern penning. Þat haust var veginn Þorbjörn Þjóðreksson.

(6) Um várit sat Ljótr at þrælum sínum á hæð einni; hann var í kápu, ok var hōttrinn lerkaðr um hálsinn ok ein ermr á. Þeir Kogurssynir hljópu á hæðina ok hjöggu til hans báðir senn; eptir þat snaraði Þorkell hōttinn at hōfði honum. Ljótr bað þá láta gott í búsifjum sínum, ok hrōpuðu þeir af hæðinni á gōtu þá, er Gestr hafði riðit: þar dó Ljótr.

(7) Þeir Grímssynir fóru til Hávarðar halta. Eyjólfur grái veitti þeim ǫllum ok Steingrímur son hans. (S142 184-86)

[(1) Ljótr the Wise lived at Ingjaldssandr, the son of Þorgrímr Harðrefsson; his mother was Rannveig, the daughter of Jarl Grjótgarðr. Þorgrímr Dog was Ljótr's son. Halldís, a sister of Ljótr's, was married to Þorbjörn Þjóðreksson, and Ásdís, another sister of Ljótr's, was taken by force by Óspakr Ósvífrsson. For this offence Ljótr had Óspakr outlawed. Úlfr was their son, whom Ljótr raised.

(2) Grímr Kogurr lived at Brekka; his sons were Sigurðr and Þorkell, little, insignificant men. Þórarinn was Ljótr's foster son. Ljótr buys meat from Grímr for twenty hundreds and paid for it with a brook which flowed between their land; it was called Ósómi ('Dishonour'). Grímr irrigated his meadow with it and dug a channel through Ljótr's land, and he [Ljótr] sued over the matter, and matters were cool between them. Ljótr took in a Norwegian at Vaðill; he fell in love with Ásdís.

(3) Gestr Oddleifsson was a guest at a fall feast at Ljótr's. Egill Völu-Steinsson arrived and asked Gestr for advice as to how his father might overcome the grief he bore at the death of his son, Ögmundur. Gestr composed the beginning of *Ögmundardrápa*. Ljótr asked Gestr what kind of a man Þorgrímr Dog would become. Gestr said that Þórarinn, his foster son, would be more famous and bade Þórarinn be careful that the hair that lay on his tongue did not get tangled around his head.

(4) This struck Ljótr as disgraceful, and he asked the next

morning what lay before Þorgrímr. Gestr said that his nephew Úlfr would be more famous. Ljótr got angry then but nevertheless rode with Gestr on his way and asked: 'What will cause my death?' Gestr said he could not see his future, but bade him be good to his neighbours. Ljótr asked: 'Will these lice, the sons of Grímr kǫgurr, cause my death?' 'A hungry louse bites hard', said Gestr. 'Where will this happen', said Ljótr. 'Not far from here', said Gestr.

(5) The Norwegian rode with Gestr up onto the heath and steadied Gestr on his horse when it stumbled. Then Gestr said 'You are now in luck, and soon you will be again; be careful that the second [occasion] does not bring you misfortune'. The Norwegian found some silver on his way home, and took twenty coins from it and thought he would seek it out later. But when he looked for it, he could not find it. But Ljótr discovered him while he was digging, and fined him three hundreds for each coin. That fall Þorbjörn Þjóðreksson was killed.

(6) In the spring Ljótr sat among his slaves on a certain hill. He was in a single-sleeved coat, and the hood was fastened about his neck. The sons of Kǫgurr ran up the hill and both struck him a blow. After that Þorkell pulled the hood over his head. Ljótr bade them be good neighbours, and they rolled down the hill to that trail that Gestr had ridden along. There Ljótr died.

(7) The sons of Grímr went to Hávarðr the lame's. Eyjólfur the Grey and Steingrímr his son supported them all.]

Prose like this, stripped of ornament and commentary, seems to resemble the objectivity, where it exists, of 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard'. In presenting Ljótr the narrative events follow each other like beads on a string, and the reader alone must determine their significance with virtually no help from the reticent narrator. That is, the narrative voice in *Landnámabók* closely resembles the voice in the sagas, which I have characterised above (pp. 63-64), and if we concentrate on this one aspect of narrative rhetoric, then it is apparent that saga-age writers knew only one way to tell a story. Nevertheless, no sensitive reader would maintain that the characterization of Ljótr lacks focus. We sense his energy, his will to power, and his uncompromising nature, and we recognise an aspect of Sturla's programme: here is a settler to re-

member, a valuable ally and a ruthless enemy; perhaps a worthy kinsman, but assuredly a neighbour to be handled with the utmost care and respect. But because Sturla never makes any of this explicit, I will examine his treatment of Ljótr in order to extract the important clues to the code by which this attitude is communicated. We will then be in a position to examine the entry's intertext.

In the first place Ljótr's inclusion in *Landnámabók* testifies to his purported historical importance, for only characters who perform memorable deeds are granted such extended coverage as that lavished on Ljótr. Second, the entry exemplifies his contentious behaviour, which elevates him above the run-of-the-mill settler: his first lawsuit (1), dubbing him a man to reckon with, has him outlawing Óspakr, apparently with justice; segment (2) portrays the typical dispute with a neighbour, a restrained account confirming the natural law that where there are neighbours, there will be friction – if Ljótr reacts too hastily in suing Grímr, then this is not clear from the incident; yet Ljótr's ambitious, prickly personality gradually and unmistakably emerges in incidents (3-5) where his suit against the Norwegian seems motivated by envy of the good fortune Gestr predicted for him. Ljótr's *Landnámabók* career spans three lawsuits, not unusual for a saga figure perhaps, but the aggregate nevertheless testifies to a fractious personality. Moreover, the code contrasts Ljótr's pungent indignation at Gestr's refusal to predict his son's future with the conduct of the foil characters, Egill and the Norwegian, both of whom receive Gestr's favour for reasons we must infer. In contrast to gratifying Ljótr's vain hopes for his son, Gestr is disposed to healing a father's present misery and is ready to reward the Norwegian's good deed with sound advice, but remains understandably reluctant to predict the gloom and doom in store for Ljótr and his dependants. After all, oracles may be accused of willing their predictions – an analogue to the topos where messengers of bad news suffer because of the suspicion that they enjoy delivering it. Besides, as Ljótr's house guest, Gestr would ill reward his host by pronouncing his death sentence. Perhaps, after all, the point is that persistent appeals to a reluctant oracle – we should remember Oedipus – preclude a comforting future.⁵⁵ Generally, people like Ljótr who pressure people in this way are likewise overbearing in other ways. He confirms this impression by scoffing at Gestr's hint that Grímr or his sons are to be feared. Whatever the cause of Ljótr's death – residual animosity or the insult – the sober narrative subtly captures his abrasiveness and intractability without treating him as an 'ójafnaðarmaður' [an unbalanced man]. We can imagine that some of his contemporaries did not much mourn his passing. Thus, the code characterising Ljótr employs traditional devices of linear narration – selection,

exemplification, repetition, and contrast – to define his indomitable will.

When we turn to the entry's counterpart in *Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings* we observe the clear difference between chronicle and saga styles. *Landnámabók* is a skilful summary of events that portray a national hero in a favourable light. The contours of Ljótr's character are shaped by what he does and says and by how he differs from other figures in the entry. Sturla treats him as a unique settler who actually performed the deeds ascribed to him. The saga, on the other hand, takes a type – the 'ójafnaðarmaður mikill' [the unbalanced man] – and, by fitting it into the saga context, ridicules it. Saga-Ljótr does not owe his presence in the saga to his own exploits but rather to the saga's need for his type. He already existed in the corpus as a fictional type before appearing in a saga that frequently has puzzled readers,⁵⁶ but which I read as a conscious parody of the literary conventions governing the narration of feud. In keeping with this purpose the saga episodes corresponding to the *Landnámabók* incidents exaggerate his abrasiveness. Ljótr and his neighbour Þorbjörn (in *Landnámabók* Grímr) each has sole use on alternate summers of a jointly-owned irrigated pasture; Ljótr manages to cut off the water supply each time Þorbjörn uses the pasture and to make known to Þorbjörn that he ought to give up his claim to it. When Þorbjörn asks whether he intends to carry out this rumoured threat, Ljótr responds in a manner worthy of his reputation and sufficient to seal his fate. Faithful to the saga's black and white characterization of people and conflict, this mocking portrayal of Ljótr shows a man virtually begging to be brought before the bar of harsh saga justice. The reader need not wait long to see Ljótr tried, convicted, and executed.

Landnáma-Ljótr's death is cast as a matter of inexorable fate that operates best when aided by the vices of its victims. In addition, while *Landnáma*-Ljótr's dying words characterise him as pushed rather than fallen into a trap, they also guarantee him a distinction that his ambition might not have achieved for him: his utterance is memorable and, therefore, commemorable. Saga-Ljótr's death, in contrast, occurs because the saga requires it. Like all members of his type, he seems to be greasing the wheel of his own downfall, an event that occasions unrestrained *schadenfreude*. Moreover, the saga, as opposed to Sturla's relatively balanced account, offers a tidy version of Ljótr's lamentable career, according to which he bears all the guilt, while his enemies are innocent. If the saga were not pastiche, we would be in a fairy-tale world.

Roberta Frank has recently observed that 'a useful working principle for the student of Germanic legend is that all the details in the text are capable of explanation, even at the cost of oversubtlety and error'.⁵⁷ While I agree with this principle in general, I think that many of the discussions of 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard' suffer from over-explication. The entry just will not stand up to a close rhetorical analysis of the kind we can perform on a saga for the same reasons that most of the entries in *Landnámabók* do not: they summarise stories the author obviously thought the reader knew in written or oral form. Thus, the parts omitted from the summary blur the narrative motivations of some of the entries. As I have argued above, three types of entries in *Landnámabók* help us to understand this point and to see more clearly that a summary cannot sustain the kinds of analysis that the *Chronicle* entry has had to endure, especially the kind in which a unity of authorial purpose was thought to be a universal narrative law. 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard' is analysable as a product of Anglo-Saxon prose narrative, but we must be aware of its limitations as well as appreciative of its merits. 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard' is not a saga but rather a tantalising summary of a complicated story that we are no longer able to reconstruct completely.

NOTES

¹ The standard edition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is that by C. Plummer, *Two of the Saxon chronicles parallel*, 2 vols (Oxford), 1892-99, rept. 1952 with a bibliography by Dorothy Whitelock. Bright's *Old English grammar and reader*, eds Frederic G. Cassidy and Richard N. Ringler, third ed. (New York, 1971), pp. 138-42, offers excellent notes to 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard'. Bruce Mitchell and Fred C. Robinson, *A guide to Old English*, fourth ed. (Oxford, 1986), pp. 192-95, also has useful notes. All quotations from 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard' are from *Sweet's Anglo-Saxon reader in prose and verse*, fifteenth ed., rev. Dorothy Whitelock (Oxford, 1967), pp. 2-3. Here, too, the notes are indispensable. The best translation is that of Dorothy Whitelock in *English historical documents, c. 500-1042*, ed. Dorothy Whitelock (Oxford, 1968), pp. 162-63, or that of Dorothy Whitelock, D. C. Douglas and S. I. Tucker, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A revised translation* (London, 1965), pp. 30-31. I have also consulted Janet M. Bately, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A semi-diplomatic edition with introduction and indices* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 36-38, and Rory McTurk, ' "Cynewulf and Cyneheard" and the Icelandic family sagas', *Leeds Studies in English*, ns 12 (1981), 81-127.

² Francis P. Magoun, 'Cynewulf, Cyneheard, and Osric', *Anglia*, 57 (1933), 361-76, at 374.

³ See, in addition to those anthologies listed in note 1, James W. Bright, *Anglo-Saxon reader*, rev. James R. Hulbert (New York, 1957), pp. 14-15; Roger Fowler, *Old English prose and verse* (London, 1966), pp. 3-6; A. J. Wyatt, *Anglo-Saxon reader* (Cambridge, 1919), pp. 1-2.

⁴ Francis Joseph Battaglia, 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 755: the missing evidence for a traditional reading', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 81 (1966), 173-78; Karen Ferro, 'The king in the doorway: The "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle", A.D. 755', *Kings and kingship, Acta*, XI (1984), 17-30; Charles Moorman, ' "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 755" ', *N & Q*, 199 (1954), 94-98; Tom H. Towers, 'Thematic unity in the story of Cynewulf and Cyneheard', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 62 (1963), 310-16, rept. in Martin Stevens and Jerome Mandel eds, *Old English literature: Twenty-two analytical essays* (Lincoln, Neb., 1968), 89-96; G. Turville-Petre, 'Notes on the intellectual history of Icelanders', *History*, n.s. 28 (1942), 111-23; Joan Turville-Petre, 'The narrative style in Old English', *Iceland and the mediaeval world: Studies in honour of Ian Maxwell*, ed. Gabriel Turville-Petre and John Stanley Martin (Melbourne, 1974), pp. 116-25; Rory McTurk (see above, note 1); Ruth Waterhouse, 'The theme and structure of 755 Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 70 (1969), 630-40; Stephen D. White, 'Kinship and lordship in early medieval England: The story of Sigeberht, Cynewulf, and Cyneheard', *Viator*, 20 (1980), 1-18; James H. Wilson, 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard: The fall of princes', *Papers on language and literature*, 13 (1977), 312-17; C. L. Wrenn, 'A saga of the Anglo-Saxons', *History*, 25 (1940), 208-15.

⁵ Plummer (see above, note 1), at II, 47, and 'the annal which most recalls the Sagas is the slaying of Cynewulf and Cynheard under 755' (II, xx); Wyatt (see above, note 3), at p. 201; Magoun (see above, note 2), at p. 361.

⁶ See note 4. Fowler (see above, note 3), at p. 4, saw the entry as 'the story of several stages of a feud reminiscent of the family feuding in the Icelandic sagas'.

⁷ *A study of Old English literature* (New York, 1967), pp. 202-05.

⁸ Cassidy and Ringler (see above, note 1), at p. 138: 'Not only its central themes (the duty of vengeance; loyalty to one's lord vs. loyalty to one's kin), but several of its motifs (*sjálfðæmi*, *útgánga* . . .), its objective tone, and certain features of its style (the colloquialism, the sudden switch from indirect to direct discourse, the rather unclear use of pronouns throughout) are reminiscent of the Icelandic family saga . . .'.

⁹ Earl R. Anderson, 'The Battle of Maldon: A reappraisal of possible sources, date, and theme', in *Modes of interpretation in Old English literature: Essays in honour of Stanley B. Greenfield*, eds Phyllis Rugg Brown, Georgia Ronan Crampton and Fred C. Robinson (Toronto, 1986), pp. 247-72, summarises and criticises (at p. 253) McTurk's belief that the entry 'reflects an oral tradition of prose saga'. Mitchell and Robinson (see above, note 1) also support the belief in the saga-like character of the entry.

¹⁰ P. J. C. Field, *Romance and chronicle: A study of Malory's prose style* (London, 1971), p. 1.

¹¹ By intertextuality I mean repeated reworkings of traditional themes and stylistic devices within the sagas as a corpus. For a definition of this term and its application to a saga, see my article, 'Intertextuality in *Bjarnar saga Hítðlakappa*', forthcoming in *Saga-Book*. For excellent reviews of the term and its history, see Hans-Peter Mai, 'Bypassing intertextuality: Hermeneutics, textual practice, hypertext', in *Intertextuality*, ed. Heinrich S. Plett (Berlin and New York, 1991), pp. 30-59, and Erhard Reckwitz, 'Intertextualität postmodern: J. M. Coetzee, *Foe*; John Fowles, *A Maggot*; Julian Barnes, *Flaubert's Parrot*', in Kunibert Bering and Werner L. Hohmann eds, *Wie postmodern ist die Postmoderne?* (Essen, 1990), pp. 121-56. See also Joseph Harris, 'Reflections on genre and intertextuality in eddic poetry (with special reference to *Grottasǫngr*) in *Poetry in the Scandinavian middle ages* (Spoleto, 1990), pp. 231-43.

¹² See T. M. Andersson, *The Icelandic family saga: an analytic reading* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), pp. 31-64; Richard F. Allen, *Fire and iron: Critical approaches to Njáls saga* (Pittsburg, 1971), pp. 95-127; Carol J. Clover, 'Scene in saga composition', *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, 89 (1974), 57-83; Fredrik J. Heinemann, 'Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða and type-scene analysis', *Scandinavian studies*, 46 (1974), 102-19; Lars Lönnroth, *Njáls saga* (Berkeley, 1976), pp. 42-103.

¹³ This is Paul Acker's suggested English equivalent for *ófafnaðarmaður* in his excellent translation of *Valla-Ljóts saga* in *Comparative Criticism*, 10 (1988), 207-37, at 232, n. 4.

¹⁴ Rolf Heller, *Die literarische Darstellung der Frau in den Isländersagas* (Halle, 1958); Carol Clover, 'Hildigunnr's lament', in John Lindow, Lars Lönnroth, Gerd Wolfgang Weber eds, *Structure and meaning in Old Norse literature: New approaches to textual analysis and literary criticism* (Odense, 1986), pp. 141-83; Jenny M. Jochens, 'The female inciter in the kings' sagas', *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, 102 (1987), 100-19; Judith Jesch, *Women in the Viking age* (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 189-91; William Ian Miller, *Bloodtaking and peacemaking: Feud, law, and society in saga Iceland* (Chicago, 1990), pp. 212-14.

¹⁵ Fredrik J. Heinemann (see above, note 12), at 107-09; Fredrik J. Heinemann, 'Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða: The old problem with the new man', *Scandinavian Studies*, 47 (1975), 448-52, at 451.

¹⁶ See Lars Lönnroth, 'Rhetorical persuasion in the sagas', *Scandinavian Studies*, 42 (1970), 157-89, for a discussion of objectivity in the sagas.

¹⁷ Margaret E. Goldsmith, *The mode and meaning of Beowulf* (London, 1970), pp. 210-44.

¹⁸ See the following articles for a discussion of this type: David K. Crowne, 'The hero on the beach: An example of composition by theme in Anglo-Saxon poetry', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 61 (1960), 362-72; Alain Renou, 'Oral-formulaic theme survival, a possible instance in the *Nibelungenlied*', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 65 (1964), 70-75; Donald K. Fry, 'The hero on the beach in Finnsburh', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 67 (1966), 27-3; Fredrik J. Heinemann, 'The hero on the beach in *Fóstbræðra saga*', *Neophilologus*, 68 (1984), 557-61. For a discussion of a similar type, see E. Anderson, 'Formulaic typescene survival: Finn, Ingeld, and the *Nibelungenlied*', *English Studies*, 61 (1980), 293-301.

¹⁹ See Fredrik J. Heinemann, 'Judith 236-291a: A mock-heroic approach-to-battle type-scene', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 71 (1970), 83-96.

²⁰ See T. A. Shippey's discussion of Cynewulf's motivation and the chronicler's sympathy towards him, 'Boar and badger: An Old English heroic antithesis?', *Leeds Studies in English*, ns 16 (1985), 220-39, at 221-22.

²¹ For the most recent, and best informed, treatment of feud in the sagas, see William Ian Miller (see above, note 14).

²² 'The narrative mode of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle before the Conquest', in P. Clemoes and K. Hughes eds, *England before the Norman Conquest: Studies in primary sources presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 215-35, at 220.

²³ *Society and politics in Snorri Sturluson's Heimskringla* (Berkeley, 1991), pp. 86-87, comments on the importance of this feature in determining a king's legitimacy to rule.

²⁴ For an interesting discussion of the narrative mode in sagas, see Judith Jesch, 'Narrating *Orkneyinga saga*', *Scandinavian Studies*, 64 (1992), 336-55.

²⁵ *Reading for the plot* (New York, 1984), p. 9. Brooks says Walter Benjamin found this feature 'characteristic of the great oral stories, a refusal of psychological explanation and motivation'

in his 'The storyteller' (*Der Erzähler*) in *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn (New York, 1969).

²⁶ G. Turville-Petre, ed. *Víga-Glúms saga* (second ed.; Oxford, 1960), expresses an old-fashioned view, still occasionally encountered: 'Like other forms of art, the family saga had primitive beginnings; it developed, culminated, and subsequently declined' (p. xx).

²⁷ See Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Dating the Icelandic sagas: An essay in method* (London, 1958). The methods advocated in this book surely require a re-examination, one perhaps resembling William Busse's questioning of the dating of Old English poems in his *Altenglische Literatur und ihre Geschichte* (Dusseldorf, 1987). Recently, Richard Perkins, 'Objects and oral tradition in medieval Iceland' in Rory McTurk and Andrew Wawn eds, *Úr Döllum til Dala: Guðbrandur Vigfússon centenary essays*, Leeds Texts and Monographs, ns 11 (Leeds, 1989), pp. 239-66, at 259, has also called for a discussion of this matter in 'a clear, well thought-out general methodological essay based on modern saga-research'.

²⁸ *The cultivation of saga in Anglo-Saxon England* (Edinburgh, 1939), pp. 69-70.

²⁹ All quotations of Old Icelandic are taken from the Íslenzk Fornrit editions (ÍF). References in my text (thus: S142: 184-86) are to the entry and page numbers in *Landnámabók: Íslendingabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, ÍF, I (Reykjavík, 1968). S designates *Sturlubók*, the version of *Landnámabók* ascribed to Sturla Þórðarson and written in perhaps 1275-80; H designates *Hauksbók*, a version written sometime later (ca. 1306-08) and ascribed to Haukur Erlendsson and which often differs from S. Jakob Benediktsson discusses these two versions (pp. 1-li and liv-lxxxii), and in their introduction to their translation (*The Book of Settlements: Landnámabók* [Manitoba, 1972], at pp. 3-4) Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards summarise a few of his conclusions.

³⁰ The classification of conflict narratives in *Landnámabók* into three groups oversimplifies matters, but a more precise classification into sub-groups would detain us without sharpening my definition of the narrative genre to which 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard' belongs. Inevitably, some overlap between the types exists, for it is a matter of judgement whether a saga analogue tells the same story differently or whether it tells a different story. In the course of my discussion I will attempt to give some sense of the complexity of the narrative texture of *Landnámabók*. Indeed, the relationship between *Landnámabók* entries and their saga analogues is an interesting subject for another essay.

³¹ Jón Jóhannesson, *Gerðir Landnámabókar* (Reykjavík, 1941), pp. 203-06; Jakob Benediktsson (see above, note 29), at pp. cii-iv. Both quote the passage from *Landnámabók* in which the three reasons are stated. See also Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards (see above, note 29), at p. 6, for a translation of the passage.

³² On the whole question of objectivity in reporting, see Roger Fowler, *Language in the news: Discourse and ideology in the press* (London and New York, 1991), pp. 25-45. What Fowler says about the press can apply to any kind of reporting, whether in newspapers or chronicles.

³³ See R. I. Page, 'A most vile people': *Early English historians on the Vikings* (London, 1987) for a discussion of this topic.

³⁴ See, for example, the following sharply-rendered tales: SH8, the story of Hjørleifr Hróðmarsson's death and Ingólfr Arnarson's vengeance; H21/S24, the narrative of Ásólfr the Christian hermit; (S42, H30), the account of the feud between Kári Kýlanson and Karli Konálsson; H184, the rendering of Björn Hrólfsson's difficulties with Grímr; H195, the recounting of Qndóttir Kráka's sons' revenge on Grímr; (S284, H245), the tragedy of Uni enn danski Garðarson, and the comic 'revenge' of his kinsman Tjörvi; (S289, H250), the saga of the magical origins of Jökulsá; (S348, H307), a recounting of Mjörðr gígja's legal counsel. As already mentioned (see above, note 30), the borderline between the types is fluid. H21, for example, has an analogue in *Óláfs saga Tryggvassonar en mesta*, but the versions are so similar in theme and treatment that it is reasonable to class the entry as a first, rather than a second, type. In addition, while H195 has no saga analogue, it resembles S229, which varies little from the similar narrative in *Grettis saga*, ÍF, VIII, pp. 14-19, but the radical differences between the two annal entries led Jón Jóhannesson (see above, note 31, at p. 197) to posit a **Kræklinga saga* as the source of H195.

³⁵ If we think of the *German auf seine Rechnung, auf seine Kappe*, in the sense of 'his responsibility', then perhaps this phrase is intelligible. But only up to a point, for what does it mean to say you will kill someone and 'put the blame on someone else', as Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards render this phrase in their translation (see above, note 29, at p. 56)?

³⁶ The considerable textual difficulties in this entry are too complex to be gone into here; see Jakob Benediktsson's discussion (see above, note 29, at pp. lxvii-lxix) and his notes to the entry, pp. 148-50; Jón Jóhannesson (see above, note 31, at pp. 181-82).

³⁷ Jakob Benediktsson comments that this entry is virtually incomprehensible ('nánast óskiljanlegur', see above, note 29, at p. 149, n. 6). Magnús Fjalldal of Háskóli Íslands comments in a letter (September 27, 1992) that he would hesitate to call the entry a summary, but rather notes 'intelligible to someone who knows the story but not to anyone else'.

³⁸ I have borrowed and modified this idea from T. A. Shippey's discussion of one of Tolkien's tales in *The road to Middle-Earth* (London, 1982), where he claims that '[i]n "Beren and Lúthien" as a whole there is too much plot' (p. 193). In the second edition (London, 1992), this reference occurs on p. 229.

³⁹ Hermann Pálsson and Edwards (see above, note 29, at p. 56) render *ok sagði hann sik valda* as 'and said that Oddmarr was responsible'. Whether Hrafsi accuses him of wrong-doing or whether (as I read this clause) Oddmarr, caught red-handed (doing something unspecified but harmful), admits to driving the woman insane, the passage incriminates Oddmarr and not Hrafsi.

⁴⁰ There is another name in the manuscript of *Skarðsárþók*, which Jakob Benediktsson emends, probably because of Eilífr's role later in the entry. Jakob acknowledges that the context is unclear.

⁴¹ Of course, one reason 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard' has been so thoroughly analysed is the scarcity, in comparison to the Icelandic tradition, of prose narrative in Old English. Literary scholars have virtually ignored *Landnámabók*, because they have understandably found the sagas more interesting.

⁴² The largest group, type two has approximately twenty entries. Some of the most interesting examples are a large part of (SH 6), the short feud between Ingólfr Arnarson and Leifr Hróðmarsson on the one hand and the sons of Atli jarl on the other (analogue: the first three chapters of *Flóamanna saga*, ÍF, XIII); (S75/H63), the conflict between Launarbrennu-Einarr and his namesake Lón-Einarr (analogue: *Bárðar saga*, ÍF, XIII, pp. 120-21); (S168, H137), the lawsuit against Sleitu-Helgi for rustling (analogue: *Hrómundar þáttur Halta*, ÍF, VIII, pp. 305-15; (S278/H240), which relate an incident also covered in *Droplaugarsona saga*, ÍF, XI, pp. 138-40; (S376, H331), the feud between Hrafn on the one hand and Atli Hásteinsson and his son Þórðr on the other (analogue: Chapters 6-9 in *Flóamanna saga*).

⁴³ See, for example, the entry S86, H74 and also its analogue in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ÍF, IV, p. 14.

⁴⁴ See Jesch's discussion (above, note 24, at p. 350) of an author's '[engagement] in a historical enterprise'. In S79 we have no sense of Sturla's inviting the narratee to question the rationale of the action.

⁴⁵ Vésteinn Ólason, ' "Máhlíðingamál": authorship and tradition in a part of *Eyrbyggja saga*', in Rory McTurk and Andrew Wawn eds, *Úr Döllum til Dala: Guðbrandur Vigfússon centenary essays*, Leeds Texts and Monographs, ns 11 (Leeds, 1989), pp. 187-203, at 188, believes that 'the most important result of what happens in this tale is the beginning of the rivalry between the two chieftains Snorri and Arnkell . . .'. Vésteinn's observations provide excellent commentary on this episode, but I think it is possible to be more precise as to this episode's significance for the saga as a whole.

⁴⁶ See Vésteinn's explanation of this term (see above, note 45, at p. 200, n. 11).

⁴⁷ Katla later confesses to causing Gunnlaugr's injuries (p. 54), but a reader who does not guess her guilt by the end of Chapter 16 has not been attentive to the text. Vésteinn Ólason (see above, note 45, at pp. 188-89) sees this and much else, but does not show how the text establishes Katla's guilt, perhaps regarding it as obvious. I mention here only the saga's use of character types, dialogue, context, and intertext.

⁴⁸ 'Zwei Rechtsfälle aus der Eyrbyggja', *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und der historischen Classe der k. b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, 1897, pp. 148, at p. 3.

⁴⁹ Konrad Maurer (see above, note 48) has difficulty accounting for the difference between *Eyrbyggja saga*, where Helgi Hofgarðargoði delivers the verdict (at p. 22), and *Landnámabók*, where Arnkell exonerates his sister, but finally attributes it to the influence of oral tradition on the latter (at p. 24). Jón Jóhannesson (see above, note 31, at p. 44) agrees with Maurer about Sturla's

changes. Jakob Benediktsson (see above, note 29, at p. 114, n. 1) cites both.

⁵⁰ Whether Sturla or the saga came first is hard to say, but I favour the former, because it is hard to see why, if Sturla knew the version in the saga, he would have Arnkell pronounce the verdict. However, two saga versions may have existed in which differing narrative contexts justified each character's delivering the verdict, so that when Sturla chose one over the other for reasons we can no longer infer, these distinctions became blurred.

⁵¹ Maurer (see above, note 48, at p. 35). The relevant sections in *Grágás* Ia, Ib 1852, ed. Vilhjálmur Finsen (Odense, 1974) are sections 227-30, pp. 162-68. Andreas Heusler, *Islandisches Recht: Die Graugans* (Weimar, 1930), pp. 392-94, translates these sections. Maurer points out (at p. 37) that because Þorbjörn unsatisfactorily answers Þórarinn's questions, the latter is justified in refusing to allow the search.

⁵² Maurer, see above, note 48, at p. 35.

⁵³ See, for example, the depiction of Víga-Glúmr's rage, ÍF, IX, p. 26.

⁵⁴ There are only a few such types, because all of the analogues are either parody or pastiche, a subject too complex to be gone into here. See also S219/H185 for another example of an entry whose analogue narrates a different tale. S376, H331, which is mostly a type-two entry, contains some elements that partake of type-three, especially where annal and Chapter 10 of *Flóamanna saga* treat Hrafn's appearance at his death.

⁵⁵ We find another example of the conjunction of an overbearing supplicant and an unhappy prediction in S68: 94, 96, 98/H56: 97, 99. Grímr has hooked a merman while fishing and demands a prophecy. The brusqueness of the merman's unadorned replies suggests that Grímr's peremptory demands have exceeded the bounds of proper conduct when supplicating a seer. In both entries the merman means that Grímr's hope for an old age is in vain; Grímr dies in the same paragraph.

⁵⁶ Guðni Jónsson, ed., *Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings*, ÍF, VI, p. lxxxviii, accounts for many of the oddities by positing a lost *Hávarðar saga* which the author of the extant saga misremembered in writing his version; Theodore M. Andersson regards it as 'a kind of saga's saga' in his influential book, *The Icelandic family saga: An analytic reading* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), p. 197, but later in his oft-cited article 'The displacement of the heroic ideal in the family sagas', *Speculum*, 45 (1970), 573-93, at 582, sees the saga as 'characteristic of a late stage given to hyperbolic imitation', a part of which 'partakes a little too much of musical comedy', and as 'parodistic or an epigonous construction . . . [of] well-worn conventions'. Paul Schach regards the heroics and exaggeration as bordering on the 'burlesque': *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph R. Strayer (New York, 1985), VI, 115.

⁵⁷ 'Germanic legend in Old English literature', in Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge eds, *The Cambridge companion to Old English literature* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 88-106, at 102.

The Banns in Medieval English Drama

Bruce Moore

The standard assumptions about the proclamation or riding of the banns as a prelude to the performance of medieval plays are summarized by David Bevington as follows:

The purpose of a 'riding of the banns' was to announce publicly a forthcoming performance of a Corpus Christi cycle. Most such ridings were colorfully festive affairs, combining showmanship and advertisement with a serious ceremonial purpose. Despite the fact that this occasion usually took place several days in advance of the actual dramatic performance of the cycle, an audience evidently gathered together and sat patiently in order to hear this important announcement. The audience witnessed a procession, heard music performed by minstrels, and received a brief account of each individual pageant in the ensuing cycle.¹

Such an account is confirmed by the extant documents from the north of England (documents from Chester and Newcastle are discussed below), but the evidence from more southern counties (Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent) is more puzzling. It would seem that in some of these southern areas the 'riding of the banns' involved more than festive procession and announcement, and may well have included elements of performance. The texts of *The Castle of Perseverance*, *The Play of the Sacrament*, and the N-Town Cycle most likely derive from the East-Anglian area,² and it is interesting that 'The Proclamation' for the N-Town Cycle and 'The Banns' for *The Castle of Perseverance* and *The Play of the Sacrament* differ quite markedly in form from the Chester 'Banns'. It is possible that the East-Anglian texts preserve features of a tradition in which the banns involved the

performance of condensed versions of the complete text, or of narration accompanied by mime.

I

For Chester we have the very late account of the riding of the banns in Rogers' *Breviary*:

Also euery yere that these playes were played, on St. Georges day before, was the banes read, which was a man did ride warlike apparaled like st. George throughe euery streete, with drume musicke and trumpetes. And there was published that the playes were played that yere, And that the breife or banes of the playe was reade what euery Company should playe, which was called the Readinge of the bannes . . .³

While we cannot be certain that for the earlier period the riding of the banns took place on St George's day, what evidence there is suggests that the form, at least, of the riding remained fairly constant. The 1539-40 Banns are headed: 'The comen bannes to be proclaymed & Ryddon with the stewardys of euery occupacion'.⁴ Many of the expenses for the banns in the guild accounts refer to payments for the horses involved in the riding.⁵ The processional route is not entirely clear, but references to payments to prisoners⁶ indicate that the route must have taken them past the prisons at North Gate and at the Castle.⁷ Clopper suggests that the route taken may have been the same as for the Midsummer Show, in which case 'the companies assembled at the Bars outside Eastgate, where the crier read the Banns and called forth the guilds',⁸ and thereafter proceeded through the main streets of the city.

There are hints in the Chester records of some theatrical elements during the riding of the banns. The *Smiths, Cutlers, and Plumbers' Records* for 1560-61 include: 'Cost vs the rydinge the banes our horses & ourselues of the which symyon was one ij s'.⁹ The Blacksmiths were responsible for Play XI, the *Purification*, and it seems that at times the actor who was to play Simeon appeared in the riding of the banns, no doubt costumed as he would be in the later performance. This character, however, also made appearances in the Midsummer Show procession. The 1554-55

Smiths, Cutlers, and Plumbers' Records include: 'for horsbred to Semeons horse 4d for gloues for him ijd, to prisoners same day ij d'.¹⁰ This suggests that there were similarities between the processions involved in the Midsummer Show and the riding of the banns. Both processions included the ceremony of distributing alms to prisoners. More importantly, there was some interchange of 'entertainments'. Other companies included characters from their plays in the Midsummer Show procession. The Shoemakers were responsible for Play XIV, which includes the characters Mary Magdalene and Judas, both of whom appear in the *Cordwainers and Shoemakers' Records* in association with the Midsummer Show.¹¹ The Painters, Glaziers, and Broiderers¹² were responsible for Play VII, the *Shepherds*, and the 1576-77 *Painters, Glaziers, Embroiderers, and Stationers' Records* include for Midsummer: 'Item to the ij sheperthes for going vppon the Syltes xx d'.¹³ The Doby family was obviously skilled in stilt walking, for in 1572-73 two of its members received payments from the same company at Midsummer,¹⁴ and in 1574-75 payments were made for stilt walking at Midsummer Eve and at the riding of the banns: 'Item to rychard dobye for goynge one the styltes at the banes rydenge vj d Item ffor goynge one the styltes one medsomare eue vj d'.¹⁵ Similarly, from the same company in 1567-68 there are payments to two shepherds on Midsummer Eve and for the riding of the banns: 'Item to tow shepperttes for goyng vppon mydsomer euen x d Item to the tow shepperttes when the [shepperttes whytson] banes were Rydden x d'.¹⁶ From this evidence it is fair to conclude that at Chester the riding of the banns involved a procession of members of the guilds through the city, a reading of the banns at the beginning of the procession and perhaps at other points, and some limited theatrical or entertainment elements.

The Chester model for the riding of the banns is largely repeated, I think, at Newcastle Upon Tyne, as the evidence would seem to suggest. All of the references to the banns derive from the *Chamberlains' Accounts*. For 18 May 1510 there is an 'Item paid to thomas Skelltoon ffor vncostes paynttyng & writtyng the bayn off the play xxj d',¹⁷ and for 24 May of the same year there are two payments: 'Item paid to thomas Skellton ffor bryngyng fforth the bayn off the playe x s';¹⁸ 'Item paid to ther mynstrall ffor goyng with the players viij d'.¹⁹ On 13 June 1511 there is another payment to Thomas Skelton for his part in the banns: 'Item paid to thomas Skelltton ffor the bayn off the playe xvj s'.²⁰ The Newcastle documents at least provide the evidence of minstrel activity in the riding of the banns – evidence which is lacking in the Chester guild documents, but which is asserted by Rogers. The payments to Thomas Skelton, at first glance, seem to be unusually high, but I think

that they are clarified by the more detailed entry in the *Chamberlains' Account Books* for the first week of September 1568:

Item paid to robart watson for the bone of the play ffirst for iij^{xx}
mens dinneres 1 s ffor xxxv horsse for the playeres at iiij d A
horsse xj s viij d ffor wyne at ther dinneres vj s viij d mor for A
drome viij d To the waites for playinge befor the playeres ij s
for payntinge the Sergantes stavffes ij s for the sargantes stavffes
ijs mor to Iohn hardcastell for makinge xlvj litle castelles & vj
grett castelles to the bonne of the play viij s mor for payntinge
belsyboubes clovbe iij d²¹

This document, seemingly so detailed, answers some questions and raises others. I think that we can assume that at Newcastle the town-crier or the bann-crier was responsible for organizing all of the aspects of the riding of the banns (and this explains the payments to Thomas Skelton in 1510-11), and that whereas at Chester the costs of the riding were shared by the guilds, at Newcastle this was a municipal responsibility (no matter how costs were eventually recovered). The two references to 'playeres' are more puzzling, and unless the term here means merely 'participants' the only clue to its significance lies in the reference to 'belsyboubes clovbe'. This perhaps suggests that as at Chester some of the actors who were to perform in the plays announced by the banns also took part, in costume, in the riding of the banns. The twofold emphasis on 'playeres' at Newcastle possibly indicates more emphasis on this custom.²²

II

When we turn to the south, we find that the evidence for the riding of the banns initially confirms the traditions of the north. The Proclamation of the N-Town Cycle and the Banns for *The Castle of Perseverance* and *The Play of the Sacrament* certainly resemble the Chester Banns. There are, however, some troubling differences – especially the fact that the southern texts are more detailed in their explication of the actions and events of the play(s). The Early Chester Banns in MS BL Harley 2150 are 187 lines long, and the Late Banns in Rogers' *Breviary* are 212 lines long. Although there are some exceptions, the standard pattern is for two plays

to be mentioned in each of the eight-line stanzas. *The Proclamation* for the N-Town Cycle is 528 lines long, and the standard pattern is for one play to be dealt with in each of the 13-line stanzas. More important than the number of lines devoted to each play is the fact that the Chester and N-Town Banns differ in their attitudes to the audience and in what they tell an audience about each play. The Chester Banns are not primarily interested in informing an audience about the content of the plays; rather, they are formal orders to the guilds to bring forth the plays:

The barbers and wax chaundlers also that day
of the patriarche you shall play
Abram that putt was to Assay
To sley Isack his sonne²³

The corresponding passage in N-Town is radically different in emphasis:

Of Abraham is þe fyfte pagent
and of ysaac his sone so fre
how þat he xulde with fere be brent
and slayn with swerd as 3e xal se
Abraham toke with good A-tent
his sone ysaac and knelyd on kne
his suerd was than ful redy bent
and thouth his chylde þer offered xuld be
Vpon An hyll full Ryff
than god toke tent to his good wyl
and sent An Angel ryth sone hym tyl
and bad Abraham a shep to kyl
And sauyd his chyldys lyff.²⁴

If, as seems likely, the N-Town Cycle was performed at various towns,²⁵ the extra detail may be necessary to inform a potential audience of the detailed content of the performance – whereas at Chester a knowledge of the content could be taken for granted. The N-Town Proclamation is therefore an example of medieval theatrical marketing. And this is no doubt true of the Banns for *The Castle of Perseverance* (which in 156 lines give a detailed explication of the events of the play) and of *The Play of the Sacrament*.

Although further county volumes from the REED project may change the picture for other areas, already it seems that in southern areas such as Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent, from a relatively early time, there is evidence of players associated with a particular town visiting other towns to perform.²⁶ There is also abundant evidence of wider community drama – groups of villages or towns in a particular area pooling their resources. In 1530 twelve communities contributed to the expenses of the Great Dunmow Corpus Christi Play, and between 1530 and 1546 twenty-six communities (all within a radius of nine miles) contributed in various years to this play.²⁷ Similarly, at Bassingbourne in Cambridgeshire in 1511 twenty-seven surrounding villages contributed to a play 'of the holy martyr St. George'.²⁸ What is surprising, however, is some of the evidence for payments to players who are reading the banns. There is no evidence about how the payments were collected for the Great Dunmow play, but Wright suggests that this was done by 'collectors or bann criers',²⁹ and he further suggests possible reasons for the payments: 'for food ordered in advance, for special accommodation, for support of a worthwhile project'.³⁰ He also speculates: 'For more effective advertisement the collectors may have been attended by the Dunmow mummers or by bann criers giving a synopsis of the play'.³¹

At Long Sutton in Lincolnshire in 1542-43 the churchwardens made payments to two theatrical groups from neighbouring towns. One is for the players of Frampton: 'Item gyuen in rewarde to framton players whan they were here vs'.³² Five shillings is at the top of the range for payments to players in the accounts from 1542 to 1560. It is therefore something of a surprise to find that in the same year, 1542-43, the bann criers from Frieston were also paid five shillings for the banns of their play: 'In primis payd to freston playars whan thay cryed ye bane here vs'.³³ It is significant that this emolument of five shillings is quite separate from and in addition to payment for food and drink: 'Item payd in reward to the Bayne of freston in [Bred and] ale ix^d'.³⁴ Twenty years later there are further payments for banns from neighbouring towns. In 1563-64: 'Item paid to ye bayne of Dunnyngton vj^s viij^d'.³⁵ In 1564-65: 'Item paid to the bayne of Leake the somme of x^s . . . Item paid to ye bayne of boston x^s'.³⁶ Six shillings and eightpence is the sum paid to 'ye players that played vpon Trynytie sonday' in 1561-62,³⁷ and the sum paid to players from Spalding in 1564-65,³⁸ but ten shillings is twice the amount paid to groups of players from Bolingbroke and Ipswich in the same year.³⁹ In the following year there is another ten shilling payment for banns: 'Item paid to the bayne of Kyrton x^s'.⁴⁰ The Riding of the Banns in these contexts cannot be of the

kind in existence at Chester and Newcastle. One major difference is that Frieston, Donington, Leake, Boston, and Kirton are relatively small villages or towns, twenty or more miles away from Long Sutton, and obviously engaged in an advertising campaign. And yet this is an advertising venture for which they are *paid*, and paid more than players from other towns who obviously put on a performance. These payments are also quite different in form from those made at Great Dunmow in Essex, where the various sums perhaps support Wright's hypothesis that the payments include sums for food and accommodation in advance. In 1532, for example, the payments were: High Rothing 4/8, Great Canfield 2/5¹/₂, Dunmow Priory 3/4, Stebbing 9/-, Little Canfield 4/-, Little Easton 5/-, Lindsell 6/1, Great Easton 10/3, Great Dunmow 15/3¹/₂, Barnston 4/6, High Easter 6/8, Good Easter 2/3, Shalford 2d, Thaxted 1/11, Great Bardfield 4/-, Rayene 3d.⁴¹ They also differ from the kinds of payments made by the Cluniac Priory at Thetford in Norfolk, where it appears that between 1504 and 1509 the Priory contributed to the costs of games and plays in surrounding villages: 'to lopham game viij^d . . . to the pley of Myldenale xij^d . . . to Berdewell game xij^d . . . to Ixworth pley xvij^d . . . to Shelfanger pley iiij^d'.⁴² The only reasonable conclusion is that the Banns also involved performance, and performance of some magnitude, to gain the payments received.⁴³

The most detailed records of bann criers so far published are from Kent,⁴⁴ and although this is a county slightly outside the area from which the extant Banns derive, the records indicate traditions entirely in keeping with those of Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk. Two records from Dover are indicative of the pattern: 1479-80 'It' paid in money . . . yeven to þe bane cryere of Romene vjs viij^d ī vino xvij^d;⁴⁵ 1481-82 'Item . . . paid to the bane criere of hethe vjs viij^d & ī wyn viij^d'.⁴⁶ First, as with many of the records from Kent, a distinction is made in the accounts between payments to the bann criers or players and other expenses incurred (mainly for food and drink), although occasionally these two expense items are combined. Secondly, the payment of six shillings and eightpence (which also occurs often in the Lincolnshire records) occurs as a common payment to bann criers or players, and also to other entertainers. Thirdly, if for the sake of comparison we take the period 1478-1488, the payments to the bann criers are very high indeed – in this period they are matched only by payments to the minstrels of the king, of the Earl of Arundel, and of the Earl of Gloucester, and they are exceeded only on one occasion by a payment of ten shillings to the minstrels of the Earl of Arundel. Fourthly, there are payments to various players without reference to the banns (for

example, the Earl of Arundel's players, and players from Hythe, Sandwich, and London), but these groups of players are consistently paid half the amount (three shillings and fourpence, i.e. payments of one sixth of a pound) paid to the bann criers. The consistency of the 6/8 payments (i.e. payments of one third of a pound) argues against the notion (as Wright suggests for Great Dunmow) that these are prepayments for food and drink and accommodation expenses on the day of the performance of the play. Rather, these payments match the payments for various kinds of performance or entertainment.

A similar pattern emerges at New Romney in Kent. This town has the most extensive records of payments to bann criers or players, and over a period of eighty years the sum of 6/8 occurs with some consistency. Payments for other entertainments are variable, but the following figures give some indication of relative rewards: 3/4 is a fairly standard payment for 'better-class' minstrels;⁴⁷ payments to players in the years 1538-41 (to the Lord Warden's players, the king's players, the players of Rochester, and the prince's players) vary from 8d to 5/-,⁴⁸ in 1517-18 the town spent £3-18-6 on its own play.⁴⁹ The bann criers from Lydd (of the towns which proclaimed their plays this is the closest to New Romney), received 6/8 on four occasions;⁵⁰ on one occasion they received 8/5, probably indicating that entertainment expenses were included in the amount.⁵¹ On three occasions the bann criers from Hythe received 6/8.⁵² On their first appearance in the records the bann criers from Folkestone received only 3/4, but received 6/8 on succeeding occasions.⁵³ The bann criers from Brookland consistently received less than those from Lydd, Hythe, and Folkestone, usually 4 or 5 shillings.⁵⁴ Bann criers from other towns (Appledore, Rye, Wye, Bethersden, and Halden) appear less frequently in the records, and they received lesser payments.⁵⁵ There is evidence that the people of New Romney responded in large numbers to the advertising of the Lydd players, for on two occasions there are records of payments to men to guard the town while the Lydd play was on.⁵⁶ Folkestone is 22 miles from New Romney, and obviously could not expect to attract large numbers to their play. The payments, however, suggest that the people of New Romney received some extensive entertainment from the bann proclaimers. Indeed, in 1503-04 when the bann criers from Lydd were in town a payment was made to John Lane: 'Item sol' Iohn Lane in parte solucionis pro labore suo in isto ludo iij^s iij^d'.⁵⁷ What this 'labour' entailed is not stated, and it may be that Lane was involved in preparations for the performance; but since 3/4 is such a standard payment for performance of various kinds, it is possible that he in fact took part in the performance – in 1502-03 this

same John Lane was paid 'in regard' pro portant' unum parcellum Bannarum ludi ville de Romene', which is possibly, as Dawson suggests, a reference to 'bills, perhaps, to be nailed up in neighbouring towns'.⁵⁸ It suggests, at least, that John Lane is one of New Romney's bann criers, and therefore probably one of its actors. As early as 1880 Robertson attempted to sort out the implications of these records, and concluded:

... I am inclined to believe that the expressions 'crying the bans' and 'proclaiming the bans' were peculiar to a certain town clerk of Romney, and meant 'reciting the parts of each character', or acting the play. Perhaps the meaning of each scene was proclaimed to the audience, by a man blessed with a strong voice, as each change was made. Whenever, thus, the play became a succession of *tableaux-vivants*, or a series of marionette performances, the men who shouted out, or proclaimed, what the scene meant, or what the figures were supposed to say, would fitly be said to cry the bans, for the word 'bans' means proclamations.⁵⁹

The records now reveal, however, that the payment system and even the terminology are not peculiar to a particular New Romney scribe; rather, payment for the performance of the banns of a play is standard practice in many areas.⁶⁰ Nor is there evidence in the documents that the payments to the bann criers are donations towards the later staging of the play, or some form of pre-payment for later attendance. Given the widespread distribution of the terminology it is evident that the banns of a play cannot be equated with the play itself.

A similar pattern emerges at Hythe, where on three occasions the players or bann criers of Lydd⁶¹ are paid 6/8, as are the bann criers of New Romney on one occasion.⁶² In keeping with the payments delivered by other towns, the bann criers of Brookland are paid only 5/-.⁶³ The 1508-09 accounts for expenses incurred during the visit of the Lydd bann criers are interesting because they provide some detail about the nature of these expenses: 'for ale for the same banecriours xjd . . . for ij capons and for wyne for the seid banecriours ijs vjd . . . for a lambe for the same banecriours xijd . . . for wyne for the same banecriours iiijd . . . to a coke & to a turnebroche & a dishwasher iiijd . . . for a dosen of bredde & 1 stande of ale for the banecriours of Lydde xxjd'.⁶⁴ They also indicate that we are dealing with

quite a large number of performers. Finally, the records from Lydd confirm the prevailing pattern and also provide some interesting new details. Between 1486 and 1534 there are payments to bann criers from Hythe, Folkestone, Appledore, Brookland, and Ivychurch, ranging from 3/4 to 6/8.⁶⁵ But there is also a payment in 1465-66 to the players of Hythe for the performance of a play in the town: 'for Exspence of þe playere of hethe her on dedicaciō day viij^s x^d . . . yoven to hem þe same tyme vj^s viij^d.⁶⁶ There are eight payments to players or bann criers from New Romney. The four earliest payments (1450-52, 1454-55, 1465-66, 1476-77) refer only to players, and the final four (1479-80, 1516-17, 1525-26, 1532-33) refer to bann criers; with one exception, the payment is always 6/8. Two of the early payments to players make it clear that a play was actually performed in Lydd. Just as in 1465-66 the players of Hythe performed a play on the church's Dedication Day (November 1), so in 1454-55 the Romney players put on a play on the same day: 'Item sol' pro pane et birra dictis lusoribus de Romene ostendentibus suum ludum hic die dedicacionis ecclesie . . . ij^s . . . Item dat' eisdem lusoribus eodem die in Curiositate x^s.⁶⁷ Similarly, in 1465-66 the New Romney players performed in Lydd on the Monday of Whitsun: 'Itm' in Exspence of þe playere of Romene shewyng her play her on whitsonmōday iij^s . . . It' yoven to hem þe same tyme vj^s viij^d.⁶⁸ Later, in 1516-17, the bann criers of Romney were paid the standard 6/8, but in the same year there is an interesting payment for guards: 'Itm' paid for the labo^r of v. men wacchyng the towne at the play day of Romene xx^d.⁶⁹ This suggests that the townsfolk responded to the advertising campaign of the bann criers, and all travelled the three miles to New Romney to enjoy the 'play day', leaving the town guarded, just as the New Romney townsfolk did on two occasions when they attended the Lydd play. And, indeed, these three years when the banns were performed in one town, and the play was performed in another, are confirmation of the fact that the 'crying of the banns' and the 'play' are not one and the same thing.

III

What form this performance of the banns took can be only a matter of conjecture, but it is useful to look again at the Banns for *The Castle of Perserverance* and *The Play of the Sacrament* and the Proclamation for the N-Town Cycle in the light of the Long Sutton evidence. The Banns for *The Castle of Perseverance* were

proclaimed a week before the performance of the play, and the audience is promised that the roles, 'parcellys',⁷⁰ which have been described will be played 'in propyrtes' (132), that is with full stage effects. The account of the Banns given by Eccles is not, I think, entirely accurate; he claims:

It is clear from the banns that a travelling company acted the play on tour, giving one performance in each village or town they visited. One week in advance, two men with banners and trumpets rode into town, gathered a crowd, and announced to 'the good commons of this town' that a play would be presented 'on the green in royal array'. The two banner-bearers told the story and urged all good neighbours to come early to the play.⁷¹

Now this is not necessarily quite what the Banns say. Towards the end of the Banns we find the statement:

Dese parcellys in propyrtes we purpose us to playe
Dis day seuenenyt before 3ou in syth
At . . . on þe grene in ryal aray.
3e haste 3ou þanne þedyrward, syrrys, hendly in hyth,
All goode neyborys ful specyaly we 3ou pray,
And loke þat 3e be þere betyme, luffely and lyth,
For we schul be onward be vnderne of þe day,
Dere frendys. (132-39)

While it is true, as Eccles claims, that '[a]ny place-name could be inserted'⁷² in line 134, it does not necessarily follow that the play is to be performed in the town where the Banns are cried. Indeed, the whole feel of this passage suggests that the 'goode neyborys' are being urged to attend a performance of the play at a venue outside their own village. On the other hand, this is obviously, as Eccles says, a travelling company (otherwise there would be no need for variation in designated place of performance), but this passage in the Banns suggests that once the place of performance has been chosen by the company, an advertising campaign is conducted in surrounding villages. The staging requirements of *The Castle of Perseverance* are quite demanding (the castle itself, the scaffolds, and so on), but what the 'vexillatores' say in the Banns does not preclude the possibility that a condensed and

mimed version of the play was presented – with costume, perhaps, but without elaborate stage properties – as part of the advertising campaign.

Lines 85-117, which describe how Mankind is enticed into the world from the Castle of Perseverance, falls prey to covetousness, and at his death is concerned primarily about the distribution of his wealth, are representative of the mode of the Banns as a whole:

þe Badde Aungyl to þe Werld tollyth hym downe
þe Castel of Perseueraunce to fle fro þe vayle
And blysse.
þanne þe Werld begynnyth hym to restore.
Haue he neuere so mykyl, 3yt he wold haue more;
þus þe Badde Aungyl leryth hym lys lore.
þe more a man agyth, þe harder he is.

Hard a man is in age and covetouse be kynde.
Whanne all oþyr synnys Man hath forsake,
Euere þe more þat he hath þe more is in hys mynde
To gadyr and to gete good wyth woo and wyth wrake.
(85-95)

The narrative in this passage is insistently in the present tense, and the action is insistently suggestive of mime. Mankind's covetousness could easily be suggested by very traditional and conventional gestures. In the early thirteenth century text, *The Vision of Thurkill*, which is an account of a vision of Heaven and Hell supposedly experienced by an Exeter peasant in 1208, there is a section which describes an open-air Theatre of Hell where sinners are compelled to act out their pre-mortuary sins for the entertainment of the devils. The passage *De quodam iusticiario* describes a justiciary who had held a high reputation, but who had in fact built up his wealth by taking bribes during the performance of his legal duties:

Cum autem hic in theatri ludibrio coram malignis spiritibus adduceretur omnesque ei acclamarent et cachinnando insultarent, coactus est gestus et modum vitae transactae representando replicare. Nam nunc ad dexteram nunc ad laevam se huc illucque divertens quasi cum utraque parte litigantium loquebatur, nunc

istos de proponenda causa informans, nunc illos de responsione et causarum contradictione muniens; manus ipsae a mobilitate sua interim non quiescebant, sed nunc ab his nunc vero ab illis pecuniam accipiebant acceptamque numerabant, numeratam alicubi reponebant.⁷³

[When this man was brought forth into this theatre of mockery before the malignant spirits and all gave him mocking applause and insulted him by laughing derisively at him, he was forced to repeat the gestures and style of his past life by re-enacting them. And so, turning himself in different directions, now to the right, now to the left, hither and thither, as if he were addressing each of the two parties to a legal dispute, now instructing these men here (the plaintiffs) about the pleas they needed to propose, now setting up a defence for those men there (the defendants) by giving them a legal rebuttal of, and a plea counter to, the plaintiffs' pleas, his hands the while were never still as he rapidly changed sides: his hands kept on receiving money, now from these, now forsooth from those, and his hands kept counting the money so received, and his hands kept pocketing the money so counted.]

While the obsessive money-counting is obviously a stock gesture of avarice, as is the surreptitious holding out of the extended palm for the bribe, the other mimetic gestures in this passage would seem to require an actor's art; and they give us, I think, a sensing of how the actors of the Banns would have 'come across' to the 'goode neyborys' in village after village. The visual element, for instance, in *The Castle of Perseverance* Banns is very much to the fore: what we hear (insistently in the present tense) is not narrative so much as description of what is progressively there to be seen. It is not inconsistent with mimetic performance:

Dus þe Goode Aungyl caste is behynde
And þe Badde Aungyl Man to hym takyth,
Dat wryngyth hym wrenchys to hys last ende
Tyl Deth comyth foul dolfully and loggyth hym in a lake
Ful lowe.
Þanne is Man on molde maskeryd in mynde.

He sendyth afftyr hys sekkatours, ful fekyl to fynde,
And hys eyr aftyrward comyth euere behynde,
I Wot Not Who is hys name, for he hym nowt knowe.

Man knowe not who schal be hys eyr and gouerne hys good.
He caryth more for hys catel þanne for hys cursyd synne.
To putte hys good in gouernaunce he mengyth hys mod,
He wolde þat it were scyfftyd amongys hys ny kynne.
But þer schal com a lythyr ladde wyth a torne hod,
I Wot Neuere Who schal be hys name, hys cloþis be full þynne,
Schal eryth þe erytage þat neuere was of hys blod,
Whanne al hys lyfe is lytyd upon a lytyl pynne
At þe laste.
On lyue whanne he may no lenger lende,
Mercy he callyth at hys laste ende:
'Mercy, God! be now myn frende!'
Wyth þat Mans spyryt is paste.

(96-117)

The accounts of the casting behind of the Good Angel and the embracing of the Bad Angel, and the sudden appearance of Death, lend themselves readily to accompanying mimed action. And the description of that ordinary, ubiquitous and disturbingly sinister figure, the unexpected heir hitherto unknown who comes from nowhere and whose name is 'I Wot Not Who' – 'a lythyr ladde wyth a torne hod . . . hys cloþis be ful þynne' – strikes us very much as an account of what the audience is in the process of seeing.⁷⁴

The insistent allusion to some form of dramatic action in this passage can be established by means of a contrast, for if one were to look for a comparable passage in the later drama, it is Richard II's remarkable meditation on death which comes immediately to mind:

For within the hollow Crowne
That rounds the mortall Temples of a King,
Keepes Death his Court, and there the Antique sits
Scoffing his State, and grinning at his Pompe,
Allowing him a breath, a little Scene,

To Monarchize, be fear'd, and kill with lookes,
Infusing him with selfe and vaine conceit,
As if this Flesh, which walls about our Life,
Were Brasse impregnable: and humor'd thus,
Comes at the last, and with a little Pinne
Bores through his Castle Walls, and farwell King.⁷⁵

The affective similarity between the two passages is striking. In both, all man's wealth and wit and wonder are mercilessly reduced at the last to a minutia which is also, suddenly, everything there is: 'al hys lyfe is lytyd upon a lytyl pynne', 'with a little Pinne / Bores through his Castle Walls, and farwell King'. In both there is finely evoked a sense of man's utter vulnerability, in the former because man has left the round and fortified Castle of sanctifying grace, in the latter because man is himself the Castle rounded with 'Brasse impregnable', yet breached with a pin. In both there is a haunting sense of the 'Other': the 'lythyr ladde' and the 'Antique' in the skull are brothers under the skin. And yet the differences are striking. Every salient feature in the former passage is immediately, physically visualizable; nothing in the latter passage is (or is meant to be).⁷⁶ The 'lythyr ladde' is there as the 'Antique' is not; the 'lytyl pynne' is there, so forlornly clutched, as the 'little Pinne', boring through brass, is not. Everything in the former passage is projected outwards, onto a stage, even the most inner of feelings; everything in the latter passage devolves inwards, away from the 'little Scene', and into the mind of the musing king. That is why everything in the former passage is mimable; nothing whatever in the latter passage is. No mimer in the world could mime Death boring through Richard's impregnable walls as he half-soliloquizes his lines; the lines were not intended for dramatic presentation of that kind. But the lines from the Banns for *The Castle of Perseverance* would seem to call for such a mime.

IV

The dramatic mode of narration accompanied by mime was by no means unusual in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in praxis as well as in theory. Many medieval commentators, for instance, supposedly because they suffered under a misunderstanding of the classical theatre, hypothesized that the classical dramatist, or his representative, read out his work while actors mimed it, and this fiction

received its most famous visualization in the so-called *Terence des Ducs* manuscripts from the early fifteenth century.⁷⁷ The most direct source of this misunderstanding is probably to be located in Isidore of Seville's definition of *Mimi* in his influential *Etymologiae*. The tradition is reflected in Lydgate's account of the classical stage in his *Troy Book* (written between 1412 and 1420).⁷⁸ Lydgate describes a theatre with a small semi-circular altar, upon which was erected a pulpit in which the poet stood and recited his works (860-82). He goes on to describe the content of the plays, all of which 'was tolde and rad of þe poete' (896). He then comments that in the midst of this theatre there was a 'tent' (900), and from this 'tent' masked actors would emerge to mime the actions which the poet described: 'So þat þer was no maner discordaunce / Atwen his dities and her contenaunce' (905-06). Wickham's suggestion that the *Troy Book* passage shows strong similarities to Lydgate's own mummings and disguisings, and that it may 'portray quite accurately the London indoor 'theatre', c. 1430, for which Lydgate wrote',⁷⁹ has not generally been well received, and it is often suggested that the *Troy Book* passage must be derivative of some such work as Isidore's *Etymologiae*. The two explanations, however, are not mutually exclusive. There seems little doubt that Lydgate did consult some such secondary source;⁸⁰ but it is also very likely that the misconception about the classical theatre may well have produced its own late medieval imitations. Lydgate's mummings and disguisings, with one exception, are not especially demanding on the performers, but their mode of performance is significant – the narrator reads out the text while the actors perform the mime.

Lydgate's texts of this kind include *A Mumming at Windsor*, *A Mumming at Eltham*, *A Mumming at London*, *The Mumming at Bishopswood*, *A Mumming for the Mercers of London*, and *A Mumming for the Goldsmiths of London*. Two texts, *A Pageant of Knowledge* and *A Mumming at Hertford*, are slightly different in mode in that they begin with narration accompanied by mime, but conclude with the actors speaking some dialogue. The first part of *A Mumming at Hertford* may be taken as representative of the mode of narration accompanied by mime. A Presenter gives a formal introduction, explaining that certain rustics have arrived at the castle to complain about the treatment they have received from their wives. The presenter then outlines the men's complaints with a speech that is obviously accompanied by lively and comic mime. The narrational mode is remarkably similar to the passage from the Banns of *The Castle of Perseverance* quoted above:

For *Obbe* þe Reeve, þat gooþe heere al to-forne,
He pleyneþe sore his mariage is not meete,
For his wyff, *Beautryce Bittersweete*,
Cast vpon him an hougly cheer ful rowghe,
Whane he komeþe home ful wery frome þe ploughe,
With hungry stomake deed and paale of cheere,
In hope to fynde redy his dynier;
Þanne sitteþe *Beautryce* bolling at þe nale,
As she þat gyveþe of him no maner tale;
For she al day, with hir iowsy nolle,
Hathe for þe collyk pouped in þe bolle,
And for heed aache with pepir and gynger
Dronk dolled ale to make hir throte cleer . . .⁸¹

The action involves a series of rollicking, farce-like vignettes which are meant to demonstrate the husbands' claim that 'þer is noon eorþely stryff / May beo compared to wedding of a wyff' (21-22). The description of action, however, is not merely narrational. It takes the form of verbal cues given to the actors by the narrator, and explanations of the action which may not be entirely clear in the mime. '*Obbe* þe Reeve' is clearly the cue for this actor to step forward and begin his performance, and the narrator gestures to him verbally and no doubt physically: 'þat gooþe heere al to-forne'. The wife's name '*Beautryce Bittersweete*' and the opening description of her gestures and facial expressions ('an hougly cheer ful rowghe') set the tone for her whole mimetic performance at this point, as do her drinking to cure the aftermath of her drunkenness, her 'bolling at þe nale' and 'pouped in þe bolle'. All of this indicates miming of no mean skill, and miming which is certainly more demanding and complex than her climactic physical violence: 'with hir distaff she hitteþe him in þe nekke' (52). Hobbe the Reeve has mimetic demands made on him too, though these may be more simple. He is obviously stooped as he drags himself home from work, and the commentary explains his gestures: 'he komeþe home ful wery frome þe ploughe'. He must also indicate his ravening hunger: 'With hungry stomake deed and paale of cheere . . . In hope to fynde redy his dynier'. What ensues is traditional knock-about farce as husband and wife fight. The comedy is broad and deliberately exaggerated, for its intent, at this stage, is to make the women as grotesque as possible. All this changes, of course, when the women speak – and demolish the husbands' case.

Lydgate's dramatic pieces illustrate just how common a dramatic mode was the combination of narration and mime in the fifteenth century, and he was writing in an area closely associated with the N-Town Cycle, *The Play of the Sacrament*, and *The Castle of Perseverance*, as well as with many of the other extant plays – *The Norwich Grocers' Play*, the *Brome Abraham*, *Dux Moraud*, the *Rickingham Fragment*, the other Macro Plays, and the Digby Plays.⁸² Lydgate also wrote verses which appear to have been designed for recital in explication of the dumb-shows of a Corpus Christi procession, and he was closely involved with civic pageants as well.⁸³ The civic pageant, in fact, provides one of the clearest examples of narration accompanied by mime, for in the fourteenth century and probably until the middle of the fifteenth century, the tableaux were explained to the audience by a pageant-interpreter.⁸⁴ Earlier than the civic pageants there is the evidence of *La Seinte Resureccion*, where it is likely that the narrative passages were meant to be read out during performance by an Expositor or *meneur de jeu*.⁸⁵ More germane to my argument, however, is the Prologue to *The Pride of Life*. The Prologue has attracted attention mainly because it outlines the plot of the play, and therefore fills in details for the play's missing sections; but though interpretation of it is made difficult by the fact that many words were illegible or lost in the now destroyed manuscript, and the restorations are purely conjectural, the Prologue has a dramatic and, indeed, mimetic interest as well. In this it bears some resemblance to the Banns of *The Castle of Perseverance* and *The Play of the Sacrament*, and to the Proclamation for the N-Town Cycle, except that the Prologue is narrated immediately prior to the performance of the play. After some introductory stanzas calling for silence, the King of Life is introduced:

[Of þe Kyng of] Lif I wol 3ou telle;

[He stondith] first biffore

[All men þat beth] of flessch and fel

[And of woman i]bore.

[He is, forsoth, ful] stronge to stond,

[And is] bycomin of kinge,

[3iveth] lawis in eche a londe,

[And nis] dradd of no thinge.

[In] pride and likinge his lif he ledith,
Lordlich he lokith with eye;
[Prin]ce and dukis, he seith, him dredith,
[He] dredith no deth for to deye. (17-28)⁸⁶

The first part of line 18 ('He stondith') is conjectural, but the second half of the line suggests that the King of Life is actually present. The use of the present tense throughout the passage (especially 'Lordlich he *lokith* with eye') is further confirmation of the actor's presence, and the narrator's words suggest that the King of Life exhibits traditional gestures of pride and arrogance. Once the necessity for mime is recognized, the rest of the Prologue is revealed for what it is: a condensed dumb-show version of the whole play:

[Her ek is þe] ladi of lond,
[Þe fa]inist a lord for to led;
[Glad] may he be fort to stond
[And b]ehold þat blisful bled.

[Þat]t ladi is lettrit in lor
As cumli becomit for a quen,
And munit hir mac euirmor,
As a dar for dred him to ten.

Ho bid him bewar or he smert,
[F]or in his lond Det wol alend;
[As] ho louit him gostlic in hert
Ho bit him bewar of his hend.

[Ho] begynit to charp of char
Þes wordis wytout lesing:
'Det dot not spar
Knytis, cayser, ne kyng.

Nou lord, leu þi likynd
Wyc bringit þe soul gret bal.'

Dis answer ho had of þe kyng;

'3e, þis a womanis tal.'

(41-60)

The Queen is introduced, and in response to her husband's arrogant boasting, she exhibits gestures of grief – perhaps the traditional wringing of the hands. She warns him of the threat of Death, of his mortality (perhaps by means of the traditional gestures of warning and admonition – the holding up of the forefinger with fist clenched, or the holding out of the hand with palm outward), but the King of Life scornfully dismisses her warnings as mere woman's talk (no doubt once again enforced by a gesture of rejection). The rest of the Prologue is similarly evocative of a condensed dumb-show of the play: the appearance of the bishop who 'precit al þat he coupe' (69); the King's boredom with the sermonizing; his eventual brusque and chagrined dismissal of the bishop; his overweening challenge to Death; Death's arrival on the chilling cue 'Deth comith' (81), as in the comparable line in the Banns of *The Castle of Perseverance* – 'Deth comyth'; the tourney between the King of Life and Death, and the King's inevitable defeat; the intercession of the Virgin Mary to save the King's soul, and so forth.

V

The Banns for the N-Town Cycle were proclaimed a week before the performance. In their present form, there is much emphasis in them on what the actors 'purpose to shewe' (53), and there is no overwhelming evidence in the extant text that it was accompanied by mime. And yet, as suggested above, the N-Town Banns differ quite markedly in dramatic mode from the Chester Banns. The description of the second pageant, for example, may be just a summary of well-known events, but it is also a point by point account of a performance:

The Serpent toke Eve an Appyl to byte
and Eve toke Adam a mursel of þe same
whan þei had do þus a-zens þe rewle of ryte
than was oure lord wroth and grevyd al with grame
Oure lord gan appose þem of þer gret debyte
both to Askuse hem of þat synful blame
and þan almythy god ffor þat gret dyspite

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Assygned hem grevous peyn · as 3e xal se in game
In dede
Seraphyn An Angell gay
with brennyng swerd þis is verray
From paradise bete hem a-way
in bybyl as we rede. (40-52)

The line 'as 3e xal se in game', as with the following 'purpose to shewe' (53), suggests that this extant form of the Banns is primarily a verbal announcement of the actions which are to be performed in the following week. It is, of course, quite different from the corresponding passage in the Chester Banns, where the opening sequence of the Cycle is referred to in only the most summary of ways:

You wurshipfull men of the draperye
loke that paradyce be all redye
Prepare also the mappa mundi
Adam and eke eve (Chester, p. 34, lines 34-37)

There are perhaps three possible explanations for this difference of emphasis. First, the explanation suggested earlier: whereas the Chester Banns are addressed to an audience fully conversant with the content of the Cycle, the Banns for the N-Town Cycle are addressed to an audience not fully conversant with the performance which is to be given. Secondly, the N-Town Banns may preserve elements of a prior dramatic tradition in which the actions of the plays were mimed to an accompanying narration. Indeed, it has become a commonplace of scholarship that the Cycle plays as we now have them may have developed out of the *tableaux vivants* which had become part of the Corpus Christi procession. Tydeman summarizes the hypothesis in this way:

The idea may have occurred to the guilds that their usual banners, visual devices, and walking figures (such as St Magnus in 1298) might be appropriately supplemented by displays having scriptural significance – Noah's Ark, the Tree of Knowledge, the Manger at Bethlehem – especially if a particular biblical tableau were appropriate to the trade responsible for its mounting From these simple beginnings it was no doubt a logical step for

the guilds to include in the parade wheeled floats carrying human figures in costume (possibly deriving from the walking impersonators) to depict scenes from the Old and New Testaments in dumbshow, and so create mobile versions of the French *mystères mimés*; after a while the characters on the vehicles possibly began to deliver brief speeches either as they travelled or when the floats came to a halt. It is probable that from this germ may be traced the growth of the spoken processional cycle plays of the British Isles.⁸⁷

While all of this is hypothesis, it is interesting that some aspects of the hypothesized 'development' correspond to actual elements of the Riding of the Banns at both Chester and Newcastle in the sixteenth century, where part of the advertising of the plays includes costumed actors riding in procession. Moreover, even within the commonly accepted account of the development of the Cycles, one possible transitional stage is often ignored – an intermediary stage between dumb-show and full performance, in which the events depicted in dumb-show were described and explicated by a narrator-figure. The third explanation for the difference of emphasis between the Chester Banns and the Banns of *The Castle of Perseverance* is the one offered in this article – that in some parts of England in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Banns for various kinds of plays were either condensed versions of the complete plays or dumb-show versions of them, with narration accompanied by mime.

The final evidence for the case I am arguing occurs, I think, with *The Play of the Sacrament*. Towards the end of the Banns the 'Secundus Vexillator' announces:

And yt place yow, thys gaderyng þat here ys,
At Croxston on Monday yt shall be sen;
To see the conclusyon of þis lytell processe
Hertely welcum shall yow bene. (73-76)⁸⁸

Davis rejects the idea that the play belongs to a town called Croxton: 'for the very nature of the proclamation implies a travelling company'.⁸⁹ I find nothing in the Banns which absolutely demands that this is the play of a travelling company. It is equally feasible that the Banns are the advertising medium for a play from the town of Croxton. Which Croxton, of course, is more difficult to discern. Yet within the

text of the play there is the claim that the Doctor comes from 'þe colkote, a lytyll besyde Babwell Myll' (621), and Davis comments: 'Babwell Priory was a Franciscan house a mile or so from Bury St. Edmunds on the road to Thetford in Norfolk, and one of the numerous Croxtons is less than three miles from Thetford (there is another in Norfolk, near Fakenham, and others in Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire), and so about twelve from Babwell'.⁹⁰ Davis concludes that the 'region of Thetford is a possible one for the origin of the play'.⁹¹ If that is true, there is no overwhelming need to assume a group of travelling players. And there is some interesting 'circumstantial' evidence. Thetford, as we have seen, is very close to Croxton, and the accounts for Thetford Priory for 1506/7 include the payment: 'Item sol' in regard to the gylde of Crokeston xx^d.⁹² In a footnote Wasson suggests that this 'reference may be to a contribution to the Bann-criers for the Croxton *Play of the Sacrament*'.⁹³ If this were so, it would be fully in keeping with the dramatic traditions of this area. Moreover, the Banns of *The Play of the Sacrament* clearly indicate that more than a verbal proclamation is involved in 'þis lytell processe':

S[o]uereyns, and yt lyke yow to here þe purpoos of þis play
That [ys] representyd now in yower syght,
Which in Aragon was doon, þe sothe to saye
(9-11)

There follows a summary of the play, and, as we have seen, towards the end the audience is told that they may 'see the conclusyon of þis lytell processe' on Monday at Croxton. However, the Vexillator's lines ('þe purpoos of þis play / That [ys] representyd now in yower syght') clearly imply that something is being seen. And it is surely no accident that in the summary of the events of the play much emphasis is given to those scenes which are most easily conveyed by means of mime, as well as to some of the play's sensational elements. In the Banns the number of characters is greatly reduced, and the Doctor episode is omitted. The first part of the play is reduced to the meeting between the Christian merchant Aristorius and the Jew Jonathas, and it is narrated in a manner which is most conducive to mime:

Off þis Cristen merchaunte he freyned sore,
Wane he wolde haue had hys entente.

Twenti pownd and merchaundyse mor
He proferyd for þe Holy Sacrament.

But þe Cristen marchaunte theroff sed nay,
Because hys profer was of so lityll valewe;
An hundder pownd but he wolde pay
No lenger theron he shuld pursewe.

But mor off ther purpos they gunne speke,
The Holi Sacramente for to bey;
And all for þe wolde be wreke,
A gret sume off gold begune down ley.
Thys Crysten merchante consentyd, þe sothe to sey,
And in þe nyght affter made hym delyueraunce.

(21-34)

The scene could easily be mimed by means of the kinds of gestures mentioned in relation to the passages from *The Vision of Thurkill* and the Banns of *The Castle of Perseverance*. Plenty of time is allowed for the actions to be performed. But the summary of the rest of the play does not sit easily with the notion of accompanying mime:

Thes Jewes all grete joye made they;
But off thys betyde a straunger chaunce:

They grevid our Lord gretly on grownd,
And put hym to a new passyoun;
With daggers gouen hym many a greuyos wound;
Nayled hym to a pyller, with pynsons plucked hym doune.

And sythe thay toke þat blysed brede so sownde
And in a cawdron they ded hym boyle.
In a clothe full just they yt wounde,
And so they ded hym sethe in oyle;

And than thay putt hym to a new turmentry,
In an hoote ouyn speryd hym fast.
There he appyred with woundys blody;
The ovyn rofe asondre and all tobrast.
Thus in our lawe they wer made stedfast;
The Holy Sacrement sheuyd them grette fauour;
In contrycyon thyr hertys wer cast
And went and shewyd ther lyues to a confesour.
(35-52)

Common sense dictates that if mime is at work here it is not synchronized with the vexillators' words, since there is too much stage business to be performed in such a short time. The mime therefore could not be like that in Lydgate's mummings, where the narration and the mime are conterminous. One notes, however, that each quatrain is devoted to a self-contained scene, and it is possible that there were breaks in the proclamation while the action was mimed. It is equally possible to imagine other forms of production. For example, if the characters playing the Jews surround the sacred Host so that it is hidden from view, appropriate gestures could be performed to create the illusion of action – with 'daggers' and hammers and 'pynsons' and a 'cawdron' briefly appearing, and a 'clothe' all 'blody' – until the climactic moment when on the line 'The ovyn rofe asondre and all tobrast', the Jews surrounding the Host are 'flung' to the ground to a drum-clap, and so reveal the Host 'transformed' to the bloodied person of Christ. The specifics of performance are obviously not recoverable, although the Banns make it clear that minstrels are involved: 'Now, mynstrell, blow vp with a mery stevyn' (80). But that there *is* performance of some kind is certain.

V

The evidence presented in this study suggests that the dramatic activity associated with the proclamation of the banns, especially in the southern counties, was more extensive than has hitherto been suspected. In the absence of extant contemporary descriptions, the interpretation of the evidence is of necessity conjectural. However, the records of payments to the performers of the banns and the texts of the surviving banns offer strong evidence for the argument that

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proclamation of the banns involved condensed versions of the complete p
narration accompanied by mime.

NOTES

¹ David Bevington, *Medieval Drama* (Boston, 1975), p. 242.

² For the provenance of *The Castle of Perseverance* see *The Macro Plays*, ed. Mark Eccles, EETS os 262 (London, 1969), pp. xi-xv. For *The Play of the Sacrament* see *Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments*, ed. Norman Davis, EETS ss 1 (London, 1970), pp. lxxvi-lxxxv. For argument about the supposed Lincoln provenance of the N-Town Cycle see, for example: Hardin Craig, *English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 239-80; Kenneth Cameron and Stanley J. Kahrl, 'The N-Town Plays at Lincoln', *Theatre Notebook*, 20 (1965), 61-69. For East-Anglian provenance see, for example, Mark Eccles, 'Ludus Coventriae Lincoln or Norfolk?', *Medium Aevum*, 40 (1971), 135-41; Gail McMurray Gibson, 'Bury St. Edmunds, Lydgate, and the N-Town Cycle', *Speculum*, 56 (1981), 56-90.

³ *Records of Early English Drama: Chester*, ed. Lawrence M. Clopper (Toronto and Buffalo, 1979), p. 325, lines 26-33. Hereafter referred to as *Chester*.

⁴ *Chester*, p. 34, lines 1-2.

⁵ Some of the expense items are very general, for example: *Cordwainers and Shoemakers' Records* 1549-50 'Item peyd ffor Reyding the banes xix d', *Chester*, p. 49, line 32; *Smiths, Cutlers, and Plumbers' Records* 1553-54 'for ridinge the banes xiiij d the Citty Crier ridd', *Chester*, p. 53, line 14. Typical references to payments for horses include: *Smiths, Cutlers, and Plumbers' Records* 1566-67 'for bred for our horses that day we Rod the banes xij d', *Chester*, p. 77, lines 34-35; *Painters, Glaziers, Embroiderers, and Stationers' Records*, 1574-75 'Item for bred to oure horses when wye rede the banes viij d', *Chester*, p. 106, line 24; see also *Chester*, p. 81, line 33, p. 92, line 1.

⁶ For example, *Cordwainers and Shoemakers' Records* 1567-68 'Item payde newton & the presonares yat day yat whe rode ye banes v d', *Chester*, p. 79, lines 23-24; *Painters, Glaziers, Embroiderers, and Stationers' Records* 1567-68 'Item to the prysoners j d Item to newton for Rydyng of the banees j d', *Chester*, p. 81, lines 34-35.

⁷ *Chester*, p. lv.

⁸ *Chester*, p. lv.

⁹ *Chester*, p. 66, lines 13-14. Other records from this company suggest emphasis on ceremonial dress: 1571-72 'ffor the Banes for dressinge our huddes xiiij d for gloues same day x d', *Chester*, p. 90, lines 38-39.

¹⁰ *Chester*, p. 55, lines 1-2.

¹¹ 'Item spend in setting out of mare modelan on mydsomar even xx d', *Chester*, p. 69, lines 27-28; 'Item payd vpon mydsomer yeven ffor the setyngge ffowrthe of marye modeand and Iudas the some of xvj d', *Chester*, p. 71, lines 17-18. See also *Chester*, p. 74, line 31; p. 79, line 30; p.

87, line 14; p. 88, line 36.

¹² At times the play is attributed to only the Painters and Glaziers, or to only the Painters – see R. M. Lumiansky and David Mills, *The Chester Mystery Cycle: Essays and Documents*, with an essay 'Music in the Cycle' by Richard Rastall (Chapel Hill and London, 1983), p. 197.

¹³ *Chester*, p. 120, line 3.

¹⁴ *Chester*, p. 98, lines 14-16.

¹⁵ *Chester*, p. 107, lines 22-24.

¹⁶ *Chester*, p. 83, lines 39-41.

¹⁷ *Records of Early English Drama: Newcastle Upon Tyne*, ed. J. J. Anderson (Toronto, Buffalo, London, 1982), p. 14, lines 21-22. Hereafter referred to as *Newcastle*.

¹⁸ *Newcastle*, p. 14, lines 26-27.

¹⁹ *Newcastle*, p. 14, line 28.

²⁰ *Newcastle*, p. 17, line 3.

²¹ *Newcastle*, p. 56, lines 18-27.

²² From the limited evidence available, a similar situation appears to have existed at Beverley. In 1423 Thomas Bynham was paid 6s 8d for composing the banns of the Corpus Christi play, which banns were to be proclaimed throughout the city, and minstrels were paid 20d for riding with the bann-criers – see Arthur F. Leach, 'Some English Plays and Players, 1220-1548', in *An English Miscellany presented to Dr. Furnivall in honour of his seventy-fifth birthday*, ed. W. P. Ker, A. S. Napier, and W. W. Skeat (1901; re-issued New York and London, 1969), pp. 205-234 (at 215). The banns for the York *Creed Play*, which were proclaimed on St Bartholomew's eve before performance on Whitmonday, similarly appear to have been limited to the city – see *Records of Early English Drama: York*, ed. Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson (Toronto, Buffalo and London, 1979), p. 177, lines 34-41.

²³ *Chester*, p. 35, lines 4-7.

²⁴ *Ludus Coventriae or The Plaie called Corpus Christi*, ed. K. S. Block, EETS es 120 (London, 1922), lines 79-91.

²⁵ The travelling company theory depends entirely on interpretation of lines 525-27 of The Proclamation: 'A sunday next yf þat we may / At vj of þe belle we gynne oure play / In N. town'. It is not certain, however, whether 'N' is the initial of an actual town, or an abbreviation of *nomen*.

²⁶ The evidence from Sussex, when fully published, will no doubt confirm my argument about the Banns in the southern counties. Cameron Louis, 'Early Drama in Sussex', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 123 (1985), 145-50, cites a payment at Rye for the proclaiming of the banns in 1520: 'Item spent at Master Wymond vppon theym of Broklond proclaymig ther banyes for ther stage play iiijs viijd'. For dramatic activity at Rye, including payments to bann criers, see Graham Mayhew, *Tudor Rye* (Falmer, 1987), esp. pp. 58-59.

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²⁷ Robert Wright, 'Community Theatre in Late Medieval East Anglia', *Theatre Notebook*, 28 (1974), 24-39. See also Richard Beadle, 'Plays and Playing in Thetford and Nearby 1498-1540', *Theatre Notebook*, 32 (1978), 4-11.

²⁸ Noted in E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, 2 vols (London, 1903), II, 338.

²⁹ Wright, p. 31.

³⁰ Wright, p. 32.

³¹ Wright, p. 33.

³² *Records of Plays and Players in Lincolnshire 1300-1585*, ed. Stanley J. Kahrl, *Collections VIII* (Oxford, 1969 [1974]), p. 70. Hereafter referred to as *Lincolnshire*. See also Kahrl's 'Secular Life and Popular Piety in Medieval English Drama', in *The Popular Literature of Medieval England*, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan, *Tennessee Studies in Literature*, 28 (Knoxville, 1985), pp. 85-107, esp. p. 91.

³³ *Lincolnshire*, p. 70.

³⁴ *Lincolnshire*, p. 70.

³⁵ *Lincolnshire*, p. 72.

³⁶ *Lincolnshire*, p. 72.

³⁷ *Lincolnshire*, p. 72.

³⁸ *Lincolnshire*, p. 72.

³⁹ *Lincolnshire*, p. 72.

⁴⁰ *Lincolnshire*, p. 73.

⁴¹ Wright, p. 30.

⁴² *Records of Plays and Players in Norfolk and Suffolk 1330-1642*, ed. David Galloway and John Wasson, *Collections XI* (Oxford, 1980-81), pp. 106-07. See also Beadle, 'Plays and Playing in Thetford and Nearby 1498-1540'.

⁴³ Other references to bann criers in Lincolnshire include: Leverton in 1526 (*Lincolnshire*, p. 20), Louth 1527-28 (*Lincolnshire*, p. 80), 1547-48 (*Lincolnshire*, p. 83).

⁴⁴ *Records of Plays and Players in Kent 1450-1642*, ed. Giles Dawson, *Collections VII* (Oxford, 1965). Hereafter referred to as *Kent*.

⁴⁵ *Kent*, p. 27.

⁴⁶ *Kent*, p. 28.

⁴⁷ 1479-80: 'Item . . . dat' in regardis mimis Regine . . . iij^s iijj^d. 1480-81: 'Et sol' in Regardis Datis mimis Regis iij^s iijj^d. *Kent*, p. 122.

⁴⁸ *Kent*, pp. 134-35.

⁴⁹ *Kent*, p. 131. In 1456 there is a reference to a Play of the Resurrection – see W. A. Scott Robertson, 'The Passion Play and Interludes at New Romney', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 13 (1880), 216-26 (at 217). In 1463-64 there is a payment 'pro ludo interludii Passionis Domini' (*Kent*,

p. 120), and this play appears to have been revived in 1517 (Robertson, p. 218), and again in 1560 (*Kent*, pp. 202-11). There was perhaps also a St George play; see Robertson, pp. 218-19.

⁵⁰ 1478-79, 1486-87, 1493-94, 1509-10; *Kent*, pp. 122, 124, 125, 129. In 1503-04 there is a payment: 'Item sol' in regarde balliuo et Iurate de lydde quando illos veniebant ad proclam' ludi vij^s viij^d'; *Kent*, p. 127.

⁵¹ In 1476-77; *Kent*, p. 121.

⁵² In 1482-83, 1494-95, 1504-05; *Kent*, pp. 123, 125, 128. In 1465-67 the 'hominibus lusoribus de heth' (*Kent*, p. 120) also received 6s 8d, but it is not clear if this is a reference to bann criers.

⁵³ 1474-75, 1478-79, 1533-34; *Kent*, pp. 121, 122, 134.

⁵⁴ 4/- in 1494-95 and 1521; 5/- in 1506-07 and 1534-35. The payment of 13s 6d in 1519-20 includes entertainment expenses as well as payments to the bann criers; *Kent*, pp. 125, 132, 129, 134, 131.

⁵⁵ For example: 1495-96 Rye 4/-; 1508-09 Bethersden 3s 4d; 1511-12 Halden 20d; *Kent*, pp. 126, 129, 130. In 1519-21 Bethersden had a 'play of St. Christina, on three days, with play-wardens, rehearsal, [and] riding with the banns . . .'; Ian Lancashire, *Dramatic Texts and Records of Britain: A Chronological Topography to 1588* (Cambridge, 1984), p. 82, item 374.

⁵⁶ 1478-79: 'Item sol' Willielmo Quitman pro vigilacione sua tempore primi lusi de Lyd iiij^d. Three other men received payment for the same task; *Kent*, p. 122. 1493-94: 'Item solut' Thome Lambarde pro vigilacione in villa tempore ludi de lyd iiij^d'; *Kent*, p. 125.

⁵⁷ *Kent*, p. 128.

⁵⁸ *Kent*, pp. 127, xiv.

⁵⁹ Robertson, 'The Passion Play and Interludes at New Romney', 221.

⁶⁰ Some very detailed late records from New Romney (for 1560) indicate that donations were received from some nearby towns – there is a 'gifte of the parishe of Ivechurch towarde o^f playe' of 3/4, and another gift of ten shillings 'of the towne of Lydd towarde o^f playe'; *Kent*, p. 207. The quite lavish outlays on all kinds of matters relevant to the production of the play, however, reveal that this was a revival of some special importance, and it is therefore understandable that the parish of Ivychurch and the very close town of Lydd might contribute (see *Kent* pp. 204-11 for details of the expenses). This record is also of interest for evidence of the fact that the bann criers were costumed, for there are expenses incurred in London 'ffyrst in bearde & heares for the bane cryers & a here & beard for the ffoole'; *Kent*, p. 209.

⁶¹ In 1486-87 the reference is to players, in 1503-04 to bann criers (the payment is made up of 6/4 from one Ward and 4d from another), and in 1508-09 to bann criers; *Kent*, pp. 83, 85, 86.

⁶² 1503-04; *Kent*, p. 85.

⁶³ In 1494-95 they were paid this sum for their banns; *Kent*, p. 84. In 1505-06 the players of

Brookland were paid 14/6 (*Kent*, p. 86), but in the context of other payments this probably includes other expenses for the entertainment of the players.

⁶⁴ *Kent*, p. 86.

⁶⁵ Hythe received 7s 10d in 1473-74 (*Kent*, p. 97), but this includes both reward and expenses. Folkestone received 8s 4d in 1473-74 (*Kent*, p. 97), again including both reward and expenses, 6s 8d in 1477-78 (*Kent*, p. 97), and 5/- in 1532-33 (*Kent*, p. 104). Appledore received 3s 8d in 1467-68 for the 'schewars of the play of apuldur' (*Kent*, p. 95), and 5/- in 1516-17 for the bann criers (*Kent*, p. 99). Brookland received 5/- in 1518-19 and 1520-21 for bann criers (*Kent*, pp. 100, 101). Ivychurch received 5/- in 1521-22 and 3s 4d in 1530-31 for bann criers (*Kent*, 101, 103).

⁶⁶ *Kent*, p. 95.

⁶⁷ *Kent*, p. 92.

⁶⁸ *Kent*, p. 95.

⁶⁹ *Kent*, p. 99.

⁷⁰ *The Castle of Perseverance*, line 132, in *The Macro Plays*, ed. Mark Eccles. All quotations from *The Castle of Perseverance* are from this edition.

⁷¹ *The Macro Plays*, pp. xxi-xxii.

⁷² Footnote to line 134.

⁷³ Latin text is from H. L. D. Ward, 'The Vision of Thurkill', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 31 (1875), 420-59. The passage *De quodam justiciario* is on p. 452.

⁷⁴ Interestingly, concern about the dispersal of one's worldly goods after death is also the target of satire in the *De quodam justiciario* passage: 'Nam sine testamenti executione subito decedens quicquid de mamnone iniquitatis et mercedibus injuste per linguam satis venalem acceptis sibi aggregaverat et in thesauro reposuerat ab alienis rapaci ingluvie distracta sunt et consumpta' [He died suddenly without making a will, and all the mammon of iniquity, all the moneys unjustly made by his corruptly venal tongue and which he had hoarded up for himself and secreted in his treasury, was with rapacious greed squandered by strangers and spent].

⁷⁵ *The First Folio of Shakespeare*, The Norton Facsimile, prepared by Charlton Hinman (London, New York, Sydney and Toronto, 1968), p. 357.

⁷⁶ This is not to deny the possibility that a pictorial image may lie behind this passage. Peter Ure, ed., *Richard II* (London, 1956), p. 102, points to a woodcut by Holbein the Younger: "'The Emperor sits on his throne . . . surrounded by his counsellors and on the right a poor man kneels demanding justice. The Emperor . . . turns from him with frowning face towards the rich oppressor, who attempts, with little success, to excuse himself. Death has sprung upon the throne behind the monarch, and is about to tear the imperial crown from his head.'" This does not approach very closely to Shakespeare's lines (except for "kill with looks" at l. 165); the general influence of the *imagines mortis* may be admitted, but no closer parallel has yet been traced'. The point is,

surely, that while there is a general iconographical tradition which lies behind this passage, Shakespeare very quickly moves into metaphor which is primarily conceptual.

⁷⁷ On this issue see, for example: Rosemary Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays* (London, 1972), pp. 25-38; Grace Frank, *The Medieval French Drama* (Oxford, 1954), pp. 1-17; Mary H. Marshall, 'Theatre in the Middle Ages: Evidence from Dictionaries and Glosses', *Symposium*, 4 (1950), 1-39, 366-89; John Norton-Smith, *Geoffrey Chaucer* (London & Boston, 1974), pp. 162-69.

⁷⁸ *Lydgate's Troy Book*, ed. H. Bergen, Part 1, EETS es 97 (London, 1906).

⁷⁹ Glynn Wickham, *Early English Stages 1300 to 1660*, vol. I, 1300-1576 (London, 1966; New York, 1966), p. 195.

⁸⁰ Norton-Smith, *Geoffrey Chaucer*, p. 168.

⁸¹ *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed. H. N. MacCracken, Part 2, EETS os 192 (London, 1934), lines 30-42.

⁸² On the Digby Plays see D. C. Baker and J. L. Murphy, 'The Late Medieval Plays of Ms. Digby 133: Scribes, Dates and Early History', *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama*, 10 (1967), 153-66.

⁸³ For the text of the Procession of Corpus Christi see *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed. H. N. MacCracken, Part 1, EETS es 107 (London, 1910), pp. 35-43. For an example of a pageant see: Carleton Brown, 'Lydgate's Verses on Queen Margaret's Entry into London', *MLR*, 7 (1912), 225-34; Robert Withington, 'Queen Margaret's Entry into London, 1445', *MP*, 13 (1915-16), 53-57.

⁸⁴ See, for example, Wickham, *Early English Stages*, I, 51-111.

⁸⁵ See W. Noomen, 'Passages Narratifs dans le Drame Médiéval Français: Essai d'Interpretation', *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 31 (1958), 761-85.

⁸⁶ Text quoted from *Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments*, ed. Norman Davis, EETS ss 1 (London, 1970).

⁸⁷ William Tydeman, *The Theatre in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 98-99.

⁸⁸ Quotations are from the edition in *Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments*.

⁸⁹ *Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments*, p. lxxxiv.

⁹⁰ *Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments*, pp. lxxxiv-lxxxv.

⁹¹ *Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments*, p. lxxxv.

⁹² *Norfolk and Suffolk*, p. 106.

⁹³ *Norfolk and Suffolk*, p. 106.

Celtic Etymologies for Middle English *Hurl* 'Rush, Thrust' and *Fisk* 'Hasten'

Andrew Breeze

ME *hurl* 'rush, thrust': Welsh *hwrdd* 'push, thrust'

The etymology of Middle English *hurl* 'rush, throw, fling, thrust' is a problem. Standard accounts describe it as '?onomatopoeic; cf. Low German *hurreln* "to sling, toss, push" ', 'uncertain', 'probably imitative', or '?imitative; cf. Low German *hurreln*'.¹ The earliest form recorded by *OED* is in *Ancrene Wisse*, though the noun here may actually be from *hurtle* < Old French *hurter* 'strike'. The reference is to the frailty of chastity, like a precious phial being carried through crowds, which 'you might, at a slight encounter, lose altogether', *wið alutel hurlunge 3e mahten al leosen*.²

But when we reach the fourteenth century *hurl* is a standard expression in alliterative poetry, as at *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* line 57, describing the confusion after shooting a stag in the wood, 'As alle had hurlede one ane hepe þat in the holte longede'.³ *Hurl* is used various times in *Cleanness*, on the fate of a tramp approaching high table (line 44), 'Hurled [pushed] to þe halle dore and harde þeroute schowued'; on the fall of Satan and his angels (223), 'Hurled into helle-hole as þe hyue swarmeȝ'; on the waters of the Flood cascading into people's houses (376), 'Hurled into vch hous, hent þat þer dowedled'; on Noah's ark (413), 'Þe arc houen watȝ on hyȝe with hurlande goteȝ [surging currents]'; on the threats against Lot of a mob in Sodom (874), 'Þat aȝly hurled [rang] in his ereȝ her harloteȝ speche'; and on a surprise attack by an army (1204), 'And harde hurles þurȝ þe oste er enmies hit wyste'.⁴

In *Patience* we find *hurl* used of the collapse of a ship's tiller and stern in a gale (149), 'Þen hurled on a hepe þe helme and þe sterne'; and the tumbling of Jonah on his way down to the whale's belly (271), 'Ay hele ouer hed hourlande aboute';

where he complains of the boiling sea-surge about his ears (319), 'De pure poplande hourle playes on my heued'.⁵ *Hurl* also figures in the Passion lyric 'My trewest tresowre sa traytury was taken', of the school of Rolle, 'And lathly for my lufe hurld with thair handes!'⁶ It makes an appearance in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* at II 297 (in the *Man of Law's Tale*), on the tremendous motion of the outermost sphere of heaven, which each day moves, 'And hurlest al from est til occident'.⁷ *OED* notes the use of *hurl* in *Cursor Mundi* (Northern); a poem on *Nego* in the Hiberno-English manuscript, Harley 913; *William of Palerne* (Gloucestershire); the Wycliffite Bible; *The Destruction of Troy* (Lancashire); *The Wars of Alexander* (North-West Midlands); the York Cycle; Malory; the Digby Plays (Midlands); Douglas's *Æneid*; Dunbar; and James VI of Scotland. But the instance at line 187 of *The Awntyrs off Arthure* (a Cumberland poem?) is an error in some manuscripts for *harled* 'dragged', a quite separate verb.⁸

It is clear from the above that *hurl* was predominantly a Northern and Scottish form. This dialectal bias is consistent with the borrowing by English of the form *hwrdd* 'push, thrust' from Cumbric, a sister-language of Welsh spoken in Cumbria and Strathclyde up to the twelfth century. How does the semantic range of the Celtic word compare with that of the English one?

Hwrdd is a noun defined as 'violent push, impulse, blow, stroke; rush, onslaught, assault, onset, shock, clash, impact; fit, attack, paroxysm (of illness, rage, laughter, weeping), spasm, short sharp spell (of work, wind)'. We also have the verb *hyrddio* 'to drive or push forward violently or headlong, shove, thrust, impel, throw forcefully, hurl, fling; butt, ram, charge, barge, batter, beat, pound, attack, assault; incite, instigate, egg on; inculcate (doctrine), urge strongly, impose, beat (something) into someone's head, impress upon, implant in the mind'.⁹

Hwrdd is attested in the thirteenth-century translation of the *Miracles* of St Edmund of Abingdon (c. 1180-1240), the Archbishop of Canterbury who gives his name to St Edmund Hall, Oxford. The text refers to *duvyr dwuyn cadarn e hwrdd en rede* 'deep water, powerful the rush in running'.¹⁰ In the fourteenth-century Book of Taliesin, a curious mythological poem 'The Chair of Ceridwen' (a hideous old witch) declares *Bu gwrdd yhwrd yg kadeu* 'Mighty was his blow in battles'.¹¹ The twelfth-century Arthurian tale of Gereint son of Erbin refers to a knight bested in combat: *achann hwrdd y gwr ar march ny thygyawd y riuedi arueu* 'and what with the onrush of man and horse, all his armour availed not'.¹² In a praise-poem to the royal warrior and poet Hywel ap Owain Gwynedd (d. 1170), Cynddelw (fl. 1155-1200) refers to *hwrt aflwfyf mal hirdwfyf hoewal* 'a brave blow like the far-reaching

water of a swift current'.¹³ In a copy of the Welsh laws of c. 1300 we read of three onsets (*hwrdd*) which are not to be compensated: a man's attack (*hwrdd*) with a weapon on his enemy when he has thrice failed to receive legal redress for a murdered relative; a wife's attack (*hwrdd*) with her hands on her husband's concubine when they meet; and a man's thrust (*hwrdd*) on being married to a false virgin, whom he can turn out for her falsehood.¹⁴ The Welsh version of the *Elucidarius*, copied in 1346, calls a priest who preaches well but lives an evil life, 'a bell sounding sweet to others and beating itself with frequent strokes (*hyrdeu*)'.¹⁵ In an anxious poem to the wave of the sea, written after a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, Gruffydd Gryg (fl. 1340-80) says *Rhodes hwrdd i'm llong, rhodes flong floedd* 'It gave a thrust to my ship, it gave a surly shout'.¹⁶ A late fifteenth-century text on Antichrist and Doomsday also mentions water, describing *hyrdeu y tonneu ar y gweilgioed* 'the crashing of waves on the floods'.¹⁷

When we turn from the noun *hwrdd* to the verb *hyrddio*, we find a simple instance in the twelfth-century tale of Peredur. When he arrives at a castle in a wilderness, 'With the butt of his spear he struck (*hyrdu*) on the gate'.¹⁸ In a poem on the Woodcock, Dafydd ap Gwilym (fl. 1330-60) speaks of the Welsh winter as foe of love, *Hirddu cas yn hyrddio coed* 'A long black enemy lashing the wood'; in another poem, on a moonlight night, he notes how the moon *Hyrddia lanw, hardd oleuni* 'sways tides, lovely brightness'.¹⁹ In a mocking poem in which he pretends his fellow-bard Guto'r Glyn was drowned at sea, Llywelyn ap Gutun (fl. 1450-70) declares 'The wave come from the water / Would not leave the fords he strolled / But on the one side held him / Gripped fast, and gave him a shove (*a'i hyrddu hwrdd*)'.²⁰ Finally, two lives of saints show varied uses of the verb. In a life of St Martin copied in 1488, the saint, confronting a maniac, thrust (*hyrddodd*) his fingers between the madman's teeth and told him to bite, which he could no more than if he had 'red-hot iron in his mouth'. In contrast, a life of St Collen (patron of Llangollen) copied in 1536 speaks of his mother's dream of a dove tearing out her heart, bearing it away to heaven, and returning to press (*hyrddv*) the heart back with a sweet smell in its place.²¹

Besides the above forms, we have the stream-names *Hyrdd* (near Llansannan, to the west of Denbigh) and *Hwrdd* (near Llanbryn-mair, between Machynlleth and Newtown). The names of both these fast-moving hill-streams have been compared in sense with that of the Gloucestershire *Rendbrook* (<Old English *hrindan* 'to push, thrust'), all three meaning 'the thruster, the torrent'.²²

It will be seen from the examples quoted that Welsh *hwrdd*/*hyrddio* agrees

closely with the semantic range of English *hurl*, and singularly so as regards the surge of water. On this aspect the Welsh stream-names are a remarkable comment. This circumstance fits neatly with a derivation of English *hurl* from *hwrdd*, since it has been noted that *hurl* is regularly used of water in rapid motion (as in *Cleanness*), while *hourle* at *Patience* 319 is a noun actually meaning 'swell of the sea'.²³ It has been suggested that Welsh *hwrdd* derives from an Indo-European root **ser-* 'flow, move swiftly and wildly', so that an association with water should cause no surprise.²⁴

If it is objected that the termination of *hwrdd* cannot be reconciled with that of *hurl*, we can reply that Welsh *dd* is known to be unstable. The best known example is *Eifionydd/Eiddionydd* (the region around Cricieth in north-west Wales), but *plwyf/plwydd* 'parish' is another. Final *f* is itself unstable, giving such doublets as *cwrf/cwrw* 'beer'. The full range seems exemplified by the variants *twrdd*, *twrf* and *twrw* 'noise'.²⁵ If *hwrdd* were borrowed by English as **hwrw*, the *l* of *hurl* would be explained as a parasitic development within English.

If these arguments are correct, we can reject those desperate etymologies which regard English *hurl* as 'onomatopoeic' or 'imitative'; we can account for the consistent association of English *hurl* with the movement of water; and we can explain why *hurl* appears centuries before *hurreln* and the other Germanic forms with which it is often doubtfully compared. It would be revealed as another previously unrecognized Celtic loanword in medieval and modern English.

ME fisk 'hasten': Welsh ffysg 'haste, speed'

Fisk is a rare word in two famous poems: in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* 1704, where a fox is pursued by hounds,

Runnen forth in a rabel in his ryȝt fare,
And he fyskez hem byfore; þay founden hym sone;

and *Piers Plowman* C IX 153, in condemnation of the able-bodied beggar,
And what freke on this folde fiscuth aboute
With a bagge at his bak a begyneld wyse [in a beggar's
fashion].²⁶

Both instances have prompted discussion. Gollancz remarks of the first that if *he* means one of the hounds, derivation of *fyskez* from Swedish dialectal *fjäska* 'scamper about fussily' would suit his quest for the fox's scent; but if *he* means the fox, then the *OED* derivation of *fyskez* from a frequentative of Old English *fysan* or *fysian* is likelier. In his glossary Gollancz translates *fyskez* as 'hastens'.²⁷ Tolkien, Gordon and Davis take *he* as meaning the fox, though noting if *he* meant the hound, this would make good sense. They gloss *fyskez* as 'scampers', citing (with hesitation) an Old Norse etymology in **fjaska*.²⁸ Andrew and Waldron also gloss *fyskez* as 'scampers', apparently referring to a hound.²⁹

Fiscuth in *Piers Plowman* C IX (formerly X) is translated by Skeat as 'wanders, roams'. He cites *fisk* from *Promptorium Parvulorum* (an East Anglian text of c. 1440), where it translates *vagor* 'I wander, roam'; the writings of the Elizabethan Londoners, Thomas Tusser and John Whitgift; and modern Shropshire dialect. He also quotes from the Swedish dictionary of J. Serenius, '*Fieska*, to *fisk* the tail about; to *fisk* up and down', and from the Tauchnitz Swedish dictionary, '*Fjeska*, v.n. to fidge, to fidget'.³⁰ Skeat's translation 'wanders' is repeated in recent editions of the C-text.³¹

OED says of the etymology of *fisk*, 'Possibly a frequentative (formed with *k* suffix as in *walk*, *talk*, *lurk*) of Old English *fysan* "to hurry", or of *fesian*, *fysian* FEEZE verb. Cf. the synonymous Swedish *fjäska*, a frequentative of *fjäsa* "to bustle, make a fuss" '. It defines *fisk* as 'to move briskly, scamper about, frisk, whisk'. The last attestation of English *fisk* (excepting a deliberate archaism in *Puck of Pook's Hill*) dates from 1700. *OED*'s definition of *fisk* means something brisker than the 'wander, roam' proposed by Langland's editors. The forms *discursor*, *discursatrix*, *vagulus*, *vagator* given by *Promptorium Parvulorum* for '*fisker*' are significant here, as the first two can mean 'one who runs about' as well as 'wanderer'. We can also compare Hugh Latimer's 'Than he is busi . . . then he fyskes a brode'. *OED*'s etymology for *fisk* is accepted by G. W. S. Friedrichsen, but including its qualifier 'possibly'.³²

Given this reservation, another etymology for *fisk* may be offered from Welsh, where *ffysg* and its compounds occur as follows: *ffysg* 'haste, speed, dispatch, bustle, fuss, impetuosity, passion, rush, attack; hasty, quick, swift, rapid, abrupt, sudden, lively, passionate'; *ffysgiad* 'swift attacker, router, assailant; hastener, hustler, stubborn man'; and *ffysgio* 'to attack, assail, scatter, disperse, put to flight'. Interesting in the light of English *fisk* is *fysky*, *fesky* 'to hurry, rush', the Cornish cognate of the Welsh verb.³³

These Brittonic forms, from Celtic **spid-sc-*, from a root **speud-* 'hasten' seen in Greek *speudo* 'I hasten', are attested at an early date. Aneirin's *Gododdin* (c. 600?) says of the heroes Cynri and Cynon and Cynrain, *chwerw fysgynt esgar* 'they routed the enemy bitterly'; of the *Gododdin* men that they were *gwerin fraeth fysgyolin* 'a swift spirited army'; of Gwrhafal, that he hewed down corpses *cledyual dywal fysgyolin* 'with a bold swift swordstroke'; and of Urfai son of Golistan in the van of battle, *Guaud i fis[c]iolin / amdiffin gododin* 'it was usual for him to defend *Gododdin* on a spirited horse'.³⁴

In a dialogue recently dated to the later ninth century, surviving in the Black Book of Carmarthen of c. 1250, a warrior urges a wounded man to battle: *Tec nos y ffisscau escar* 'the night is fine to attack the enemy'.³⁵ In the same manuscript a verse of ninth- or tenth-century date commemorates a son of Brwyn of Brycheiniog, Meilyr Malwynawg, *ffiscad fuir fodiauc* 'router in terror successful'.³⁶

Praising Llywelyn the Great (d. 1240), the bard Llywarch ap Llywelyn (fl. 1173-1220) refers to his defiance of England, with *Fwyr fysc aerderuysc ar deruyn lleon* 'swift assault, raging war on the borders'.³⁷ In contrast, a poem on the Nativity by Madog ap Gwallter (c. 1250), apparently a Franciscan linked with the Hereford Friars Minor, describes the Wise Men arriving at the stable in Bethlehem, *Disgyn yn ffysc, seren a'e dysc, wir y dysgeu* 'Alighting in haste, as the star taught them, truthful its teaching'.³⁸

Finally, Dafydd ap Gwilym (fl. 1330-60) praises his patron Ifor Hael of Gwernyclepa (now overlooking the western outskirts of Newport) in traditional style: *Hawdd ffysg Deifr unddysg, â'r dew fronddor* 'Easily with his sturdy breastplate does he rout the puny Saxon'; while elsewhere he compares love to a hare, *Crair hy bron, a ffy ar ffysg* 'a bold-breasted treasure, that flees in haste'.³⁹ In short, *ffysg* and its compounds occur consistently in Welsh poetry (but much less so in prose, where they seem unknown in the *Mabinogion* romances) from the earliest times until the fourteenth century, after which they become hard words, noted by glossators.⁴⁰

Does this identify the origin of English *fisk*? We may point out here that standard authorities do not feel the orthodox Germanic etymology of *fisk* to be quite satisfactory; that Welsh *ffysg*, applied to the hare, and *ffysgiolin* 'swift horse', accord in a very satisfactory way with the *fyskez* applied to fox or hound in *Sir Gawain*; that the Brittonic senses 'hasten, hurry' are somewhat closer to the English ones than are Swedish 'bustle, make a fuss, scamper about fussily'; that Welsh *ffysg* exists, but Old English frequentative **fyscan*, **fyscian* or **fescian* are not

known to have existed; and that a Brittonic origin would suit the early use of *fisk* in Northern and Western texts like *Sir Gawain* and *Piers Plowman*, and its late use in Shropshire dialect.

If it is objected that the senses 'attack, assail, scatter, disperse, put to flight' of the Welsh verb do not accord exactly with those of the English one 'to move briskly, frisk, whisk', we can reply that the loan may have been an early borrowing by English (before these later senses developed), perhaps from Cumbric, a sister-tongue of Welsh, spoken in Cumbria and Strathclyde up to the twelfth century, but now known from little more than place-names; or that the English verb was adopted from the simplex *ffysg*.

If these arguments are accepted, we can identify a previously unrecognized Celtic borrowing in Middle and Early Modern English. We can also clarify our reading of *Sir Gawain* and *Piers Plowman*. If the basic meaning of *fisk* is 'hasten' from Brittonic, and not 'bustle, make a fuss' from Norse, this would (in the light of Sir Israel Gollancz's comment) strengthen taking *fyskez* as referring to the fox, and not to a hound eagerly seeking a scent. It would also suggest a dynamism in Langland's *fiscuth*, for which a translation 'gads about' (apt for the healthy, idle beggar it refers to) may be preferred to 'roams'.

NOTES

- ¹ *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, ed. M. Y. Offord, EETS os 246 (London, 1959), p. 83; *Patience*, ed. J. J. Anderson (Manchester, 1969), p. 91; *Cleanness*, ed. J. J. Anderson (Manchester, 1977), p. 140; *A Chaucer Glossary*, ed. Norman Davis (Oxford, 1979), p. 78.
- ² *The Ancrene Riwe*, tr. Mary Salu (London, 1955), p. 73; *Ancrene Wisse*, ed. J. R. R. Tolkien, EETS os 249 (London, 1962), p. 86.
- ³ Offord, p. 2; cf. J. P. Oakden, *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English*, 2 vols (Manchester, 1930-35), II, 288.
- ⁴ Anderson, *Cleanness*, pp. 13, 18, 22, 23, 35, 44.
- ⁵ Anderson, *Patience*, pp. 36, 40, 42.
- ⁶ *Yorkshire Writers*, ed. Carl Horstmann (London, 1895-96), i, p. 72; *English Writings of Richard Rolle*, ed. Hope Allen (Oxford, 1931), p. 133; *Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century*, ed. Carleton Brown, second edition (Oxford, 1952), p. 94; *Medieval English Lyrics*, ed. Theodore Silverstein (London, 1971), p. 65; *A Selection of Religious Lyrics*, ed. Douglas Gray (Oxford, 1975), p. 16.
- ⁷ *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. L. D. Benson (Oxford, 1988), p. 91.
- ⁸ *The Awntyrs off Arthure*, ed. Ralph Hanna (Manchester, 1974), p. 112.
- ⁹ *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (Caerdydd, 1950-), 1933, 1980, and cf. *Canu Aneirin*, ed. Ifor Williams (Caerdydd, 1938), pp. 23, 213, and K. H. Jackson, *The Gododdin: the Oldest Scottish Poem* (Edinburgh, 1969), p. 136.
- ¹⁰ J. E. C. Williams, 'Gvyrthyeu Seint Edmund Archescop Keint', *The National Library of Wales Journal*, v (1947-48), 58-67, at 62.
- ¹¹ *The Book of Taliesin*, ed. J. G. Evans (Llanbedrog, 1910), p. 35.
- ¹² *The White Book Mabinogion*, ed. J. G. Evans (Pwllheli, 1907), col. 421; *The Mabinogion*, tr. Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones (London, 1949), p. 254.
- ¹³ *Llawysgrif Hendregadredd*, ed. John Morris-Jones and T. H. Parry-Williams (Caerdydd, 1933), p. 102.
- ¹⁴ *Llyfr Blegywryd*, ed. S. J. Williams and Enoch Powell (Caerdydd, 1942), pp. 116-17; *The Laws of Hywel Dda*, tr. G. M. Richards (Liverpool, 1954), p. 108.
- ¹⁵ *Drych yr Oesoedd Canol*, ed. Nesta Lloyd and Morfydd Owen (Caerdydd, 1986), p. 82.
- ¹⁶ *Dafydd ap Gwilym a'i Gyfoeswyr*, ed. Ifor Williams and Thomas Roberts, second edition (Caerdydd, 1935), p. 138.
- ¹⁷ Thomas Jones, 'Yr Anghrist a Dydd y Farn', *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, xiii (1948-50), 174-84, at 179.
- ¹⁸ Evans, *White Book Mabinogion*, col. 615; Jones and Jones, p. 194.

- ¹⁹ *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym*, ed. Thomas Parry (Caerdydd, 1952), pp. 162, 191; J. P. Clancy, *Medieval Welsh Lyrics* (London, 1965), p. 77.
- ²⁰ *The Oxford Book of Welsh Verse*, ed. Thomas Parry (Oxford, 1962), p. 119; Clancy, p. 204.
- ²¹ *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg*, i, ed. T. H. Parry-Williams (Caerdydd, 1954), pp. 6, 37.
- ²² Eilert Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford, 1936), p. 366; R. J. Thomas, *Enwau Afonydd a Nentydd Cymru* (Caerdydd, 1938), p. 72.
- ²³ Anderson, *Patience*, p. 63.
- ²⁴ *Geiriadur*, 1933; D. E. Evans, 'Celt. *sord-/surd-', *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, xxv (1971-73), 290-92.
- ²⁵ *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, ed. Ifor Williams (Caerdydd, 1930), p. 285; *Chwedlau Odo*, ed. Ifor Williams, second edition (Caerdydd, 1957), p. 35. But the forms *godwrdd/godwrf* quoted in the latter are unrelated, with *godwrdd* deriving from a separate form *dwrdd*, according to *Geiriadur*, 1424.
- ²⁶ *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon, second edition (Oxford, 1967), p. 47; William Langland, *Piers Plowman*, ed. D. A. Pearsall (London, 1978), p. 168. *MED* s.v. *fisken* also cites the word from Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes* 2442: 'Silence of tunge is wardein of good fame; / And after reпреef fisseth, clappeth, fouleth'. I thank John Edwards of Oxford for this reference.
- ²⁷ *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. Israel Gollancz, EETS os 210 (London, 1940), p. 120.
- ²⁸ Tolkien and Gordon, pp. 119, 181.
- ²⁹ *The Poems of the Pearl Manuscript*, ed. M. R. Andrew and R. A. Waldron (London, 1978), p. 320.
- ³⁰ *Piers the Plowman*, ed. W. W. Skeat, 2 vols (Oxford, 1886), II, 123-24.
- ³¹ *Piers Plowman*, ed. Elizabeth Salter and D. A. Pearsall (London, 1967), 106; *Piers Plowman*, ed. Pearsall, p. 395.
- ³² *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, third edition (Oxford, 1973), p. 758.
- ³³ *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (Caerdydd, 1950-), p. 1336.
- ³⁴ *Canu Aneirin*, ed. Ifor Williams (Caerdydd, 1938), pp. 8, 17, 35, 48, and see his *The Poems of Taliesin* (Dublin, 1968), p. 159; K. H. Jackson, *The Gododdin: the Oldest Scottish Poem* (Edinburgh, 1969), pp. 123, 138, 144, 108.
- ³⁵ *Canu Llywarch Hen*, ed. Ifor Williams (Caerdydd, 1935), p. 28; *Early Welsh Gnostic Poems*, ed. K. H. Jackson, second edition (Cardiff, 1961), p. 20; *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*, ed. A. O. H. Jarman (Caerdydd, 1982), p. 64; *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*, ed. Jenny Rowland (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 389, 502.
- ³⁶ Thomas Jones, 'The Black Book of Carmarthen "Stanzas of the Graves"', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, liii (1967), 97-137, at 122, 123; Jarman, p. 38.
- ³⁷ *Llawysgrif Hendregadredd*, ed. John Morris-Jones and T. H. Parry-Williams (Caerdydd, 1933),

p. 297; J. P. Clancy, *The Earliest Welsh Poetry* (London, 1970), p. 156.

³⁸ *Hen Gerddi Crefyddol*, ed. Henry Lewis (Caerdydd, 1931), p. 106; Clancy, p. 165.

³⁹ *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym*, ed. Thomas Parry (Caerdydd, 1952), pp. 14, 124.

⁴⁰ John Lloyd-Jones, *Geirfa Barddoniaeth Gynnar Gymraeg* (Caerdydd, 1931-63), p. 517; *Geiriadur*, p. 1336.

Subject Matter and its Arrangement in the *Accedence* Manuscripts and in the Early Printed *Long Accedence* and *Short Accedence* Grammars

Hedwig Gwosdek

From the beginning of the fifteenth century Latin grammars written in Middle English have survived in manuscripts. They are short introductory treatises which represent the personal working notes of masters and pupils concerning formal instruction in this subject. With the aid of these tracts young schoolboys were taught morphology, elementary syntax, vocabulary and composition, and also methods of analysing Latin grammar. They were widely disseminated and also went into print. Their frequent reprinting from the end of the fifteenth century and during the first three decades of the sixteenth century bears witness to their popularity and to the high demand for them in grammar schools. The present article will consider versions dealing with the parts of speech based on Donatus' *Ars Minor*, the subject with which tuition normally began. The extant manuscripts and printed versions make possible a close and connected investigation of both, and raise questions about their characteristic textual features and about the possible links between them. An attempt will be made to indicate what is common to the manuscripts of the *Accedence* and the two printed versions, the *Long Accedence* (LA) and *Short Accedence* (SA) in subject matter and its arrangement.

The replacement of French by English as the medium of instruction in Latin, which started about the middle of the fourteenth century, was of great importance in elementary teaching. The Oxford schoolmaster John of Cornwall is said to have introduced this change at about the time of the Black Death (1348-49); and it must have led grammar masters to produce schoolbooks which reflected this linguistic change.¹ But it is only from the beginning of the fifteenth century that grammatical manuscripts in English survive. Thirty-six Middle English grammatical texts have been described and edited which are extant in a total of twenty-four manuscripts.²

Twenty-eight of the texts are versions of one of the four main treatises: the *Accedence* as the first of the main treatises, which is largely an English adaptation of its basic source, the *Ars Minor* of Donatus; the *Comparacio*, a short tract on comparison; the *Informacio* which treats elementary syntax; and the *Formula* which represents an expanded version of the *Informacio* tract. Apart from these there are eight texts which are the only copies of the treatises they represent. John Leyland, the well-known Oxford grammar master who taught from about 1400 until his death in 1428 can be connected with some of these grammatical treatises.³ But the *Informacio*, a tract on syntax, is the only work which he has a strong claim to be author of, although the *Comparacio* may also originate with him. The tract on the parts of speech, the *Accedence*, may have already been in circulation, and he may therefore merely have used and revised it for his teaching. The remainder of the treatises can only indirectly be linked with him. Versions of all the treatises continued to be used and revised for elementary teaching throughout the fifteenth century.

After printing had come to England a number of printed versions of the *Accedence* manuscripts and the other treatises gradually became available, and replaced the manuscripts used in the classrooms. Twelve different manuscript versions of the *Accedence* are discussed here, and three printed versions of this grammar are extant: the *LA*, the *SA*, and the *Accidence*; these were used at the end of the fifteenth and during the first third of the sixteenth centuries.⁴ Their dates of printing indicate that the extant versions of the *LA* and of the *SA* bridged the period from about 1495 to 1519. As for their chances of survival, the manuscripts and the printed books were equally liable to be destroyed or lost. There can be no doubt that the school texts which have come down to us represent only a very small proportion of those which were actually written and printed. They are those which survived destruction, ill usage and neglect after being replaced by different texts. Whole printed versions may have been lost forever. The three extant versions, the *LA*, the *SA*, and the *Accidence*, may therefore inadequately reflect the versions which were actually printed from the *Accedence* manuscripts.⁵ The extant versions of both manuscripts and printed texts may thus give a very uneven picture of the tracts which were likely to have been available in both mediums, and circulated and used in the classrooms at that time.

This article seeks to illustrate how the parts of speech are treated, and in what varieties of arrangement the subject matter occurs in extant versions of both the manuscripts and the printed versions. In connection with this, the prevalent

methods of teaching will be discussed. Only the first edition of the *LA*, text A, and the first two fragmentary editions of the *SA*, texts I and K, which together cover almost the complete text, need to be examined for present purposes, because later editions of each version, though published in different printing houses, were in every case set up from reprints of the first edition of each version.⁶ Bearing in mind the accidental nature of the textual evidence and given the imperfect state of our present knowledge about both manuscripts and printed versions, as well as of elementary education as a whole in England at this time, it is not possible to take into consideration all the factors which governed the production and dissemination of the manuscripts as well as their printing history. In such circumstances we can only draw on the information provided by the texts themselves. Both the manuscripts and the printed versions, nevertheless, are important in so far as they are the basis of many of the elementary grammars written in the Tudor period.

Nicholas Orme's book *English Schools in the Middle Ages*, published in 1973, was the first attempt to draw attention to the relationship between these elementary grammatical manuscripts and the printed versions.⁷ David Thomson's research subsequently made it possible to give a broad account of fifteenth-century English grammatical manuscripts concerning elementary teaching and the link between manuscripts and printed versions. Earlier scholars, in pursuing different interests, for example A. F. Leach's emphasis on the institutional side of education, and Foster Watson's work on schools and learning in England at the time of the Renaissance, concentrated exclusively on printed treatises when referring to the curriculum, and did no more than mention or list them.⁸ On the other hand, S. B. Meech was concerned only with manuscripts and, even then, only from the point of view of Middle English dialect. It is clear that printed versions of these manuscripts were not known to him.⁹ During this earlier period of research printed treatises of this grammar, as with some other tracts, were considered to be the first of their kind, and different versions were attributed to John Hanbridge.¹⁰ It will however become obvious that the printed versions continued the tradition of short manuscript tracts which began in Oxford as the centre of grammatical studies throughout the Middle Ages. The manuscript treatises which were disseminated from there did not circulate in a coherent and written-up form. Each schoolmaster revised and adapted material available to him in such a way as to form an individual version which best suited his teaching aims as well as local conditions. Texts of the same treatise therefore exhibit considerable variation.¹¹ The grammatical material a schoolmaster used for his teaching probably consisted of personal manuscripts to which from time to time

additions, excisions, and variations were made according to pedagogical necessity and access to grammatical sources.¹² It is certainly not possible to indicate the kinds and degrees of revision made by each master in each version. In general, his notes were probably intended to sum up and systematize his instruction. Though most of the actual treatises we have were written by schoolboys, and the transmission through such hands may explain in part the distortion which is a characteristic feature of many of them, it is the schoolmasters themselves to whom the serious revisions of the texts must certainly be attributed.¹³ In regard to the extant treatises, the variants exhibited by any one individual manuscript or printed version must be explained by its provenance and history.

After printed grammars had become available they replaced the manuscripts in the course of time. This must have resulted in a decline in the production of grammatical manuscripts, though they still continued to be written. For example, a version of the *Comparacio* (MS Q) which was written at the end of text A of the *LA*, printed in about 1495, gives evidence of this continuing tradition and also illustrates the physical proximity between manuscripts and printed texts.¹⁴ Each of the three extant printed versions survives in a differing number of editions. At present we know of nine editions of the *LA*, of which the first edition is dated c. 1495;¹⁵ four editions of the *SA*, whose first edition, text I, can also be dated to about this year; and thirty-five editions of the *Accidence*, with its first edition dating from about 1505. In most cases only one copy of each edition of the three versions survives in complete or fragmentary form. Only the *Accidence* itself is clearly connected through its title with John Stanbridge (c. 1463-1510), who was a Winchester pupil and a New College scholar before becoming Master of Magdalen College School, Oxford, from 1488-94, and later of Banbury School from 1501-10.¹⁶ This however does not mean that the *Accidence* originated with Stanbridge, but only that he revised and adapted material which was already available. Though the *LA* and *SA* versions do not display internal evidence of attribution to him, from the fact that he revised material for his teaching it seems likely that he was also responsible for the way in which these texts are presented to us. In this way he was just another in the series of grammar masters reworking and adapting material which was not novel in itself. That Stanbridge was doubtless a distinctive master may only in part explain his reputation. It was rather the fact that the grammars attributed to him could easily be multiplied and made public by the printing press, thus enabling them to exert great influence in other local schools and make his teaching well-known. This is for example reflected by the 1515 and 1525 statutes of Manchester Free Grammar

School which say that the master 'should "teche childeryn gramyer after the scole use, maner and forme of the scole of Banbury in Oxfordshire . . . which is called Stanbridge grammar"'.¹⁷

Returning to the texts themselves in order to show that it was traditional material which gained such influence, extracts from the grammatical manuscripts of the *Accedence* and the printed versions of the *LA* and *SA* are arranged below in roughly chronological order for ease of comparison and to illustrate their characteristics. It is only possible here to set out some particularly striking examples to show how subject matter is presented and arranged in the individual versions.¹⁸

Concerning the method of teaching, the use of a general question-and-answer format is typical of this group of grammars, as was common in Latin grammatical teaching, following the model given in Donatus' *Ars Minor*.¹⁹ Compare for example the following items in Donatus 'Genera verborum quot sunt? Quinque. Quae? Activa passiva neutra deponentia communia' (Keil iv 359, 33-35) with the manuscripts and the printed versions:

How many gendres haste of verbes? Fyue: actyf, passyf, neutre, comyn and deponent (MS D327-28; MS A198-99, MS B160-62, MS C358-60, MS F146-47, and MS K116-18).²⁰

How many gendris of verbis ben there (v) whiche .v. actif/ passif/ neuter/ comyn/ and deponent (*LA* A414-15).

How many gener of verbe be there .v. whiche .v. actyue passyue neutre/ deponent/ and common (*SA* K71-73).

Apart from the request by the teacher for the pupils to enumerate items, definitions are required from them in all these tracts. We may compare the definition of the imperative mood as the second of the five moods in the inflection of Latin verbs. The passage is based on Donatus 'Modi qui sunt? Indicativus, ut lego, imperativus, ut lege . . .' (Keil iv 359, 7-8):

How knowyste imperatyf moode? That at byddyth or commaundeth, as 'Go hens', *Vade hinc* (MS D300-01).

How knos þu þe imperatiue mod? For he byddus or

comawyndys (MS A172-73, MS B181-82, MS F130-31).

Qwerby knowyst imperatyf mood? For it preyith, byddyth, or comawndyth (MS C401-02).

How knowest þe Imperatif mode for he byddeth or commaundeth (LA A384).

[The] imperatyf mode for he byddeth or commaundeth (SA K58-59).

The printed versions show exactly the same pattern as manuscripts A, B, and F in defining the imperative mood, though the actual definitions show small variants. A third kind of question asks for the rules governing word-formation, of which only a few examples are found. Donatus' *Ars Minor* was not drawn on in these cases. The passages for the formation of the past participle are as follows:

Wherof schall the participle endyng in *-tus* or *-sus* be formed? Of the laste supyn, as *amatu*, set ther-to an *-s* and thenne hit is *amatus* (MS D483-85).

Of whom schall he be fowrmyt? Of þe latyr supyn be putyng to þis lettyr *S* as *amatum*, *-tu*, put to þis letter *S* and hyt wyll be *amatus*, *-ta*, *-tum*; *doctum*, *-tu*, put to þis lettyr *S* and hyt wyll be *doctus*, *-ta*, *tum* (MS A262-65).

Of whom is a participill of þe pretertens i-formed? Of þe latter suppyne of þe verbe bye puttyng to *-s*, as *lectu*, put to *-s*, it is *lectus* (MS F207-09).

Whereof schall he be formyd? Of the later suppyne, as *lectu*, sett ther-to *-s* and make *lectus*, *-a*, *-um* (MS K186-87).

Of whom shal the participle of the pretertens be fourmed. Of the latter supine by puttinge to this lettre .s. as (lectu) put therto .s. and it wol be (lectus) (LA A552-54).

Of whom is the particyple of the pretertens formed/ of the later
supyne by the puttynge to an s (SA I65-67).

The different steps in the teaching procedure become evident: the question about the formation of a word is followed by an answer which is illustrated here only by Latin examples. The printed version of the *LA* is very close to MS F, whereas the other manuscripts and the *SA* version show variants, especially in elaborating on or omitting examples.

As to the content of these treatises and its arrangement, the following variations among the manuscripts are striking, and it is interesting to compare them with the printed versions. In general, neither manuscripts nor prints reveal a balanced structure. However, the basic structural elements – the parts of speech and their order – give to each version its essential form and remain constant. The space which each part of speech occupies within the text can differ significantly, and the versions again differ from each other. The manuscripts of the *Accedence* all begin with the question based on Donatus 'Partes orationis quot sunt?' (Keil iv 355, 2): 'How many partys of spech byn þer?' (MS A1, MS L1, MS K1). Small variations in vocabulary occur in this *incipit*, such as 'maners' for 'partys' (MS B1, MS M1), 'reson' for 'spech' (MS C1, MS F1, MS E1), and including the expression 'maner partyes of reson' (MS D1); there are also slight changes in word order. The parts of speech themselves, however, do not reveal a consistent set of definitions and rules of formation, and the texts again are not uniform in following a consistent pattern. Compare, for example, the following definitions of the first part of speech, the noun, in the manuscripts and the printed versions:

How knowyste a noun substantyf? A party of reson that
betokenyth substaunce wyth qualite and is declined wyth case
and article; and so the name of euery thyng in the world is a noun
substantyf (MS D8-11).

How knos þu a nowne? For all þat I may fele, here or se þat
berys þe name of a thyng, þe name þerof ys a nowne (MS A11-
12; similar are MS C11-12, MS L27-29, MS F11-12, and MS
K12-14).

How knowe 3e a noun? For þe Laten of eny þyng ys a noun (MS B10).

How know 3e a noun? For all þat I may see or fele or know þat beryth þe name of a thyng is a noun, as *homo* for 'a man', *corpus* for 'a body', *anima* for 'a sowle' and all so lyke (MS E11-14).

How knowest a nowne? Of euery thing that is in this world or out of this world the name is a nowne, as 'man', 'angel', 'vertue', etcetera (MS M13-15).

How knowest a noun for al maner thyng þat a man may see fele. Here. or vnderstonde þat berith þe name of a thyng is a nowne (LA A11-13).

How knowe ye a nowne/ for al þat I may fele see here or vnderstand þat bereth þe name of a thyng is a nowne (SA I11-13).

This example shows how the definitions of the parts of speech vary considerably in the different versions. The treatises do not necessarily draw on Donatus' *Ars Minor*, which defines the noun as 'Pars orationis cum casu corpus aut rem proprie communiterve significans' (Keil iv 355, 5-6). They also use phrases and ideas from Priscian's *Institutiones Grammaticae*, where the noun is defined as 'pars orationis, quae unicuique subiectorum corporum seu rerum communem vel propriam qualitatem distribuit' (Keil ii 56, 29-57, 1).²¹ This source, however, was probably used only indirectly. Other medieval Latin grammars may also have been important antecedents of these fifteenth century treatises, for example Thomas of Hanney's *Memoriale Iuniorum*, an extensive work on the four parts of grammar, which was finished in 1313.²² The definitions given in the English treatises transform, add and omit material from some of the preceding versions and possibly from other grammatical sources. The definitions given in the printed versions agree with the procedures illustrated by the manuscripts. An examination of the definitions of the other parts of speech in both the manuscripts and the printed texts produces similar results.

The manuscript versions also differ from each other and, by including examples of a word and a phrase, sometimes in Latin alone, sometimes in English alone, to illustrate a rule, are not internally consistent. Sometimes both the Latin and its English translation are given. Compare, for example, the definition of the present tense:

For hyt synfyyt de tyme þat ys nuw (MS G14-15 and MS A217).

For hit spekyth of tyme þat ys nowe, as 'y loue' (MS B212-13).

For he spekyth of tyme þat is now, as *amo*: 'I loue' (MS C422-23, MS F165-66, and MS K157-58).

MS D reveals a particular tendency shared at times by MS C to elaborate on a special point. Compare the version given here with the above definitions:

How many tymes hastow in the verbe? Thre to make Latyn by: the tyme that is now, the tyme that is a-goo, the tyme that is to come. For hem in Englysh: 'I loue' for the tyme that is now, 'I haue louyd' for the tyme that is a-goo, 'I schall loue' for the tyme that is to com (MS D352-56).

The other manuscripts have only the bare definition of the present tense, and vary to only a small extent. The printed version *LA* A478-79 follows MS B, whereas the printed version *SA* K89-90 reflects the definition given by MSS C, F, and K.

Also typical of MS D is the inclusion of *Latinitates*, that is Latin model sentences on their own or pairs of sentences in the two languages to illustrate a rule. In this manuscript the English is usually followed by its Latin translation, which probably reflects the process of learning to translate English into Latin.²³ Compare the definition of the nominative case:

A word that comyth byfore the verbe and the dede of the verbe passyth oute of hym, that schall be nominatyf case. On another maner a word that bytokenyth doying or suffryng, the word that doth or suffreth schall be nominatyf case, as 'The maister sytteth

on the benche', *Magister sedet super scamnum* (MS D106-10).

As a further means of reinforcing learning, *Accedence* manuscripts D, A, B, C and M contain Latin verses, with some variation from text to text. Extensive borrowing, either directly or indirectly, took place from the then common Latin verse grammars: to a greater degree from the *Doctrinale*, written by Alexander de Villa-Dei around the end of the twelfth century, and to a lesser degree from the *Graecismus*, written by Evrard de Béthune about 1210.²⁴ Some verses given in the manuscripts and the printed version of the *LA* can also be found in Thomas of Hanneý's *Memoriale Iuniorum* and a few are contained in John of Garland's *Compendium Gramatice*.²⁵ The verses are generally used to illustrate or to sum up a point made in English in a short, easily memorized form. Those given here follow the definition of the common verb and provide a list of examples which goes back to *Doctrinale* 980-82:

How many verbes commyn bu ther? V, et cetera.

Largior, experior, veneror, moror, osculor, ortor,

Criminor, amplector tibi sunt communia, lector;

Si bene connumereres, interpretor addere debes

(MS D340-44).

These verses are used in the same passage in MS A209-13, MS B171-74 (both manuscripts contain smaller variants) and MS C384-88, and also in the printed version *LA* A471-73. The *SA* version (lines K80-83) agrees with MS F155-58 and MS K127-29, where only the definition of this grammatical point is given, and where verses in general are omitted. A second example, which again shows the illustrative purpose of the Latin verses, in addition indicates to what extent and in what arrangement verses could be used. The following verse listing collective nouns occurs after the passage dealing with the cases taken by superlatives:

How many nown collectiuis be þer? It is schewyd be þe verse.

Vnde versus:

Sunt collectiua populus, gens, plebs quoque turba

(MS C43-45).

The verse is *Graecismus* XXV.15. MS D47-50 does not use it, but explains this grammatical point in English. In the *LA* version, however, this verse is followed by a second found in manuscripts dealing with comparison and syntax:

Sunt collectiua populus gens plebs quoque turba
Turma phallanx legio cuneus sociare memento
(*LA* A165-66).

The same mnemonic verses can be interspersed in different grammatical treatises wherever they help illustrate the point in question. Their number and their arrangement within a group, however, could vary. In a third example, rules for the second declension, the o-declension, which have already been explained in English, are summarized in Latin in the following verses:

Vs mutabis in e/ per cetera cuncta secunde
Filius excipitur (quod in e vel in i reperitur)
(*LA* A269-70).

They are not found in any of the *Accedence* manuscripts or the other extant grammatical manuscripts. Verse 269, however, is given in Thomas of Hanney's *Memoriale Iuniorum*, p. 248b. In general, there is no consistency of usage among the manuscripts and the *LA* version concerning which passages are provided with verses. Pedagogical necessity and access to grammatical material were probably the key factors leading to their inclusion. Of the two printed versions each reflects one of the two practices illustrated by the manuscripts.

Another striking feature of the presentation of the subject matter, which is at the same time an interesting teaching device typical of the manuscripts of the *Accedence*, is the references to Donatus' lists of prepositions and conjunctions which are given in the discussion of the parts of speech. The 'Donet', as this grammar is referred to in the English treatises, departs from the version of the *Ars Minor* which St Jerome would have used in Rome in the middle of the fourth century in that it introduces more examples and further modifications, and lists five declensions and four conjugations. Donatus, on the other hand, treats only of the first three in each case, and also appends the conjugations of the verbs *amare*, *docere*, *legere* and *audire* with their passives at the end. The versions which were circulating in England in the fifteenth century could differ from each other in the

treatment of this material. The references in the English treatises suggest that a version of the Latin text was available in the classroom and used when the English versions were learnt.²⁶ For example, the imperative 'Da preposiciones casus accusatiui, . . .' (MS A316-17) not only indicates a different teaching method from the usual catechetical form, a change in method which is already found in Donatus, but the direct address to the pupil, introduced by 'Da . . .', shows that part of the supplementary Latin text was used particularly for memorization. The manuscripts differ from each other in their length of reference to the Latin text. The passage in MS A refers to the 'Donet' only in the treatment of the preposition:

How many casus wyl he serue to? II. Wech ij? þe accusatiue and þe ablatiue. Wych byn þe preposicions þat wyl serue to þe accusatiue case? All þat byn contenyt in þis lesen of þe 'Donet': 'Da preposiciones casus accusatiui, vt *ad, apud, et cetera*'. Wych by þe preposicions þat wyl serue to ablatiue case? All þat byn contenyt in þis lesson of þe 'Donet': 'Da preposiciones casus ablatiui, vt *a, ab, abs, et cetera*'. Wych byn þe preposicions þat wyl serue to boþe? All þat byn contenet in þis lesson of þe 'Donet': 'Da vtriusque casus preposiciones, et cetera' (MS A313-23).

Manuscript C591-611 contains this passage in more detail, especially by including extensive lists of examples from the Latin text. References to Donatus are already found in the treatment of the conjunction (lines 573-89). Apart from displaying variants which particularly affect the enumeration of the different commands in the discussion of the conjunction, MSS D and F are similar in referring to this source as follows:

How many spyces hath the power of coniunccon? Fyue, by the 'Donet': copulatyf, disiunctyf, expletyf, racionel, and causell (MS D495-97; MS F219-26).

How many case? Tweyne: accusatyf and ablatyf. Wheche beth the preposicion that seruyth to accusatyf case? As many as be conteynynd in thys demaunde of the 'Donet': 'Da preposiciones casus accusatiui'. Wheche beth hy that seruyth to the ablatyf

case? As many as beth conteynynd in 'Da preposiciones casus ablatiui, et cetera'. How many seruyth to bothe case? Foure: *in, sub, super, subter* (MS D523-29; MS F230-37).

The printed version *LA* A605-11 resembles the passage on prepositions given in MS A and has no reference to Donatus in the treatment of the conjunction, whereas the discussion of the two parts of speech in the 'short' version (*SA* I73-81 and 85-91) reflects MS F.

MS C again differs from all other *Accedence* manuscripts and also from the two printed versions by including three longer passages in Latin, that is the series of declensions of Latin nouns (lines 144-97), of pronouns (257-355) and of participles (538-70), after the manner of a version of the 'Donet' then available. This indicates a revision of the English text which did not need the support of the Latin text in this passage.²⁷ Finally, the section on concord, which varies in length among the various manuscripts, is placed after the discussion of the parts of speech, except in MS G, which seems to consist of a set of excerpts from the *Accedence*.²⁸ This section, also not found in MSS D and K, is however included in the printed versions *LA* A659-75 and *SA* I94-107. In the *LA*, after the section on concord, there is added a discussion on the formation of tenses of the perfect stem of Latin verbs (lines A676-93), which is also found in some *Informacio* and *Formula* manuscripts.

That English and Latin examples could be arranged in tabular form is strikingly illustrated by the fragmentary MS H which was written late in the fifteenth or early in the sixteenth century, whereas in all other manuscript versions the text runs line after line. We may compare the following examples of the arrangement of text:

How mony nowmbyrs byn þer? II. Wech ij? Þe singuler and þe plurell. How knos þu þe singuler nowmbyr? For he spekys but of on thyng as 'mayster'. How knos þu þe plurell nowmbyr? For he spekys of mo thyngus þe of on as 'maysters' (MS A53-56; MS D95-97, MS C69-72, MS F46-49, MS K22-26, and also the printed versions *LA* A209-13 and *SA* I43-47).

A word yn Englysch ys synglar numbrey whan he spekyth but of one thyng, as 'a man/chyld', 'a beest/boke'. A word in Englysch ys plurall numbrey whan he spekyth of many thyngys, as 'men/childurn', 'beestis/bookys' (MS H1-4).

Compare also:

How knos þu þe masculyn gendyr? For hyt ys declynyt w^t *hyc* as *hyc maijster* (MS A40-41; MS D76, MS C48-50, MS F34-35, MS K45-46, and also *LA* A185-87 and *SA* I33-34).

All wordys declyned only w^t thys artykyll *hic* be masculyn gendur, as nominatiuo *hic* magister/dignus. *Hic* ys artykyll of the masculyn gendre (MS H12-14).²⁹

The fact that there are no examples of this arrangement in the two printed versions indicates that *Accedence* manuscripts were continued to be written at the time when printed versions of these grammars were already available. Versions in both mediums went in parallel for some time.

The fluidity of the manuscripts was such that even versions of different treatises or parts of them were combined to form a longer, composite work. For example, the complete *Accedence* manuscript D is part of a longer, composite treatise designated EE.³⁰ On the other hand, each of the *Accedence* manuscripts MS B and MS M themselves contain a version of the *Comparacio* in the noun section where all other manuscripts have instead a shorter section on the three degrees of comparison. MS O is contained in MS B and MS S in MS M. The combined version consisting of MS B and MS O is finally followed without a break by a version of the *Informacio*, MS V, a combination which was probably intended to form a course on accidence, comparison and syntax.³¹ The printed *LA* in the same way reflects the combination of different versions by including a detailed discussion of comparison in the noun section (lines A37-182) without any break in the text. Only the preliminary discussion of the nature of comparison starting with 'Qwhat is a comparison? A liknes of diuerse thyngis in a certeyn accidens, . . .' (MS P1-14, MS O1-12, MS N1-9, and MS Q1-8) is omitted in the printed version. Instead it starts immediately by asking for the three grades of comparison (*LA* A29) in the same way as MS R1 and MS S1. The embedding of a *Comparacio* text gives this printed version a very unbalanced structure in that the discussion of the noun, the first of the parts of speech, takes up almost half of the whole treatise. The *SA* displays a more proportionate text in that it only asks for the three grades of comparison and their identification (*SA* I24-31). This version shows a more balanced structure in the length given to each part of speech.³²

The few examples of variation given here are enough to indicate that the possibilities for adapting material in these elementary grammars were manifold. They reflect varying degrees of revision and adaptation at different institutions and localities, made for different purposes and at different dates throughout the fifteenth century. Each manuscript marks one individual stage in this process and could probably have been further revised and used as the occasion demanded. For other elementary treatises the same state of affairs must be assumed.

The working copies which belonged to individual schoolmasters or institutions were used and revised by successive teachers. Therefore copies tended to take a different direction in different localities and represent more or less idiosyncratic and local adaptations, as found with MS D and MS G. On the other hand, treatises used at more famous foundations such as Winchester were more influential because other schools would adopt their standard, which practice again invited successive masters to modify the treatises for their own purposes, different teaching conditions and local requirements. Therefore the manuscript versions of the *Accedence*, in the same way as those of the other elementary English grammatical treatises, represent separate stages of development, their characteristic feature being an unstable text, subject to further variation.

The two printed versions, the *LA* and the *SA*, consist of the same blend of material as the *Accedence* manuscripts. They also share with them the same characteristics of variation of subject matter and arrangement, as well as of teaching method. In this respect they resemble the manuscript versions, except that they were printed at one particular stage of usage and revision.³³ The choice of versions to print was probably determined by their availability. That *Accedence* manuscripts continued to be written after printed versions had become available is illustrated by MS H with its use of tabular arrangement. The production of manuscript versions therefore carried on in parallel with the production of printed versions at the end of the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth centuries. When printed versions became available they probably did not exert much influence initially because of the localized nature of teaching. The permanent form of print, however, made their easy multiplication possible because printers found it easier to reprint a text which was already set up in type. This is the reason why these versions became dominant and could exert influence. It was therefore through printed versions that the tradition of these elementary grammars was continued. The latest extant edition of the *LA* dates from 1519, and that of the *SA* from about 1515.

The manuscript versions, also, were not written up and finished as balanced,

coherent and complete treatises, but rather represent the masters' personal versions compiled for their own use. It was printing which made a difference to the nature of these schoolmasters' notes: material could no longer be easily shifted around, the notes became fixed in content and arrangement, and they became independent of those who compiled or copied them – the masters, pupils or scribes. In this form they became available from booksellers in an increasing number of copies and exerted authority in local schools in the course of time.³⁴ That the printed versions of these basic grammatical texts themselves show a number of quite different kinds of changes from edition to edition is a widespread phenomenon in formal instruction in the first decades of the sixteenth century.³⁵

NOTES

¹ For John of Trevisa's report of this change see Churchill Babington, ed., *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden . . . together with the English Translations of John Trevisa and of an unknown Writer . . .* Rolls Series xli, 9 vols (London, 1865-1886) II, 158-61. John of Cornwall's *Speculum gramaticale* survives in Oxford, Bodl. Lib., MS Auct. F. 3. 9, pp. 1-180. It was written at Oxford in 1346 and, though chiefly in Latin, includes a number of English glosses and translations. It is the first grammatical treatise which gives evidence of the reintroduction of English into the teaching of Latin.

² David Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Middle English Grammatical Texts* (New York and London, 1979); David Thomson, ed., *An Edition of the Middle English Grammatical Texts* (New York and London, 1984). These manuscripts and the printed versions related to them are listed in chronological order in R. E. Lewis, N. F. Blake and A. S. G. Edwards, *Index of Printed Middle English Prose* (New York and London, 1985), pp. 59, 73, 106-09, 123-24, 274-75, 278, and 280.

³ On Leylond and his connection with these treatises see R. W. Hunt, 'Oxford Grammar Masters in the Middle Ages', in *Oxford Studies Presented to Daniel Callus*, Oxford Historical Society, ns xvi (Oxford, 1964), pp. 169-70, 181-87; reprinted in R. W. Hunt, *The History of Grammar in the Middle Ages: Collected Papers*, edited by G. L. Bursill-Hall, *Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science*, ser. 3, vol. 5 (Amsterdam, 1980), pp. 173-74, 185-91; also David Thomson, 'The Oxford Grammar Masters Revisited', *Mediaeval Studies*, 45 (1983), 298-310; and J. N. Miner, *The Grammar Schools of Medieval England* (Montreal and Kingston, 1990), pp. 146-47.

⁴ For editions of the *LA* and *SA*, see Hedwig Gwosdek, ed., *Early Printed Editions of the Long Accedence and Short Accedence Grammars* (Heidelberg, 1991). The different editions of the *LA* are designated by the sigils A-H, those of the *SA* by the sigils I-M. Editions of the *Accedence*, the third version, are listed in W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson and K. F. Pantzer, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1475-1640*, 3 vols, second edition, revised and enlarged (London, 1976-91), II, nos 23139.5 to 23153.2; see also the additions and corrections to all three versions in III, 309, sub 'Stanbridge'. This catalogue is abbreviated hereafter as *STC*².

⁵ See also Lewis, Blake and Edwards, *Index of Printed Middle English Prose*, p. xxv.

⁶ In each of the two versions the first text in type set the standard for the reprints that followed. See the lists of subject matter in my *Early Printed Editions*, pp. 57-73. For *LA*, text A, attributed to John Stanbridge, *Wynkyn de Worde*, [1495.] (*STC*² 23153.4), see *Ibid.*, pp. 152-64. For *SA*, text I, attributed to John Stanbridge, *Wynkyn de Worde*, [1495?] (*STC*² 23154.5), and K,

Another Edition, [William Faques, c. 1505.] (STC² 23154.7), see Ibid., pp. 226-28 and 229-31. The editions available of the third version, the *Accedence*, need to be examined before detailed conclusions can be drawn. This version may at least be divided into two sections: those editions which were printed in Stanbridge's lifetime (STC² 23139.5 to 23142), and those which were published posthumously (nos 23143 to 23153.2). The first category embraces the *Accedence*, the latter the *Accidentia ex Stanbrigiana Editione*. For a kindred text see also STC², I, no. 7018.5; also the *Informatio Puerorum*, STC², II, nos 14078 and 14079. Editions of this version are also listed in Lewis, Blake and Edwards, *Index of Printed Middle English Prose*, p. 108.

⁷ N. I. Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London, 1973), pp. 96-97. See also the research report in my *Early Printed Editions*, pp. 4-8.

⁸ See A. F. Leach, *A History of Winchester College* (London, 1899), p. 225; Ibid., *The Schools of Medieval England* (London, 1915), pp. 300-01. Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660: their Curriculum and Practice* (Cambridge, 1908), pp. 232-33 and 235-37.

⁹ See S. B. Meech, 'An Early Treatise in English concerning Latin Grammar', *Essays and Studies in English and Comparative Literature, University of Michigan Publications, Language and Literature* xiii (1935), p. 82.

¹⁰ On John Stanbridge see above, pp. 136-37. Manuscripts which precede the printed treatises were also ignored by J. P. Tuck, 'The Use of English in Latin Teaching in England in the Sixteenth Century', *Durham Research Review*, 1 (1950), 22-24; and also by Kenneth Charlton, *Education in Renaissance England* (London, 1965), pp. 106-07. But see also Charlton's reference to manuscript grammars independent of the printed versions on p. 121 because of their use of English.

¹¹ See Miner, *The Grammar Schools of Medieval England*, p. 147, where examples of the procedures of revision and adaptation of grammatical treatises are given.

¹² For essential manuals schoolmasters may have had access to, see Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages*, pp. 125-26.

¹³ For the scribes of individual manuscripts see Thomson, *Catalogue*, pp. 12-13; also Ibid., 'The Oxford Grammar Masters Revisited', pp. 302-03.

¹⁴ The manuscript sigils are taken from Thomson, *Catalogue*, where manuscripts of the *Accedence* are designated A-M, of the *Comparacio* N-S, of the *Informatio* T-Y, of the *Formula* Z-CC, and of the *Other Texts* DD-LL. For references to manuscript passages see Thomson, *Edition*. The bibliographical references for the *Accedence* manuscripts arranged in chronological order are as follows:

MS J, Thomson, p. 55 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 26, fols 63r, 63v, 5v, 62v).

MS D, Thomson, pp. 32-43 (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O. 5. 4, fols 4v-6v).

MS G, Thomson, pp. 51-52 (London, Public Record Office, MS C.47/34/13, fols 22r-23r).

MS A, Thomson, pp. 1-8 (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS Peniarth 356B, fols 54v-

57v and 48r).

MS B, Thomson, pp. 9-16 (Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Peniarth 356B, fols 163r, 165r-67v).

MS C, Thomson, pp. 17-31 (Cambridge, St John's College, MS F. 26 (163), fols 1r-12r).

MS L, Thomson, pp. 61-62 (Oxford, Bodl. Lib., MS Rawl. D. 328, fols 119r, 120r, 121r, 122r, 123r, 124r-125r, 126r).

MS F, Thomson, pp. 45-50 (London, British Library, MS Add. 37,075, fols 1r-6v).

MS E, Thomson, pp. 44 (London, BL, MS Add. 12,195, fol. 66r).

MS M, Thomson, pp. 63-64 (Worcester Cathedral, MS F. 123, fol. 99v).

MS K, Thomson, pp. 56-60 (Oxford, Bodl. Lib., MS Douce 103, fols 53r-57ar).

MS H, Thomson, pp. 53-54 (Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, Colman MS 111 (fol. 1v of medieval MS A)).

The bibliographical details for the *Comparacio* texts (in chronological order), the *Informacio*, text V, and *Formula*, text EE, mentioned are as follows:

MS P, Thomson, pp. 70-74 (Cambridge, Univ. Lib., MS Add. 2830, fols 54v-56v).

MS O, Thomson, pp. 66-69 (Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Peniarth 356B, fols 163r-64v).

MS R, Thomson, pp. 76-80 (Oxford, Bodl. Lib., MS Rawl. D 328, fols 80r-83r).

MS N, Thomson, p. 65 (Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Peniarth 356B, fol. 9v).

MS S, Thomson, p. 81 (Worcester Cathedral, MS F. 123, fols 99vb-100ra).

MS Q, Thomson, p. 75 (Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Printed Book Douce D 238 (2), [= LA A], fols B5v-B6r. (See my *Early Printed Editions*, p. 37)).

MS V, Thomson, p. 104 (Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Peniarth 356B, fols 167v-68r).

MS EE, Thomson, pp. 178-85 (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O. 5. 4, fols 4r and 6v-7v).

¹⁵ A new fragment of the LA version is listed in *STC*², III, no. 23153.8, p. 309.

¹⁶ For biographical details of Stanbridge and works attributed to him, see my *Early Printed Editions*, pp. 10-14.

¹⁷ See M. D. Lobel, 'Schools', in L. F. Salzman, ed., *The Victoria History of the Counties of England. Vol. 29: The Victoria History of the County of Oxford* (London, 1939), reprinted (Folkestone and London, 1970), I, 461.

¹⁸ Changes in spelling, punctuation, vocabulary, word order, and smaller changes in construction, e.g. 'How many gendyrz of verbys byn þer?' (MS A198) for 'How many gendres haste of verbes' (MS D327), are not taken into consideration in the discussion of subject matter and its arrangement in the different versions.

¹⁹ For Donatus, *Ars Minor* see Heinrich Keil, ed., *Grammatici Latini*, vol. IV (Leipzig, 1864; reprinted Hildesheim, 1961), pp. 355-66.

²⁰ The spelling of the English manuscript examples is that of the manuscript immediately quoted afterwards. Punctuation of the manuscripts is to Thomson, *Edition*; from the printed

versions is to my *Early Printed Editions*.

²¹ For Priscian's *Institutiones Grammaticae* see Heinrich Keil, ed., *Grammatici Latini*, vols II-III (Leipzig, 1855-59; reprinted Hildesheim, 1961).

²² Thomas of Hanney's *Memoriale Iuniorum* survives in Oxford, Bodl. Lib., MS Auct. F. 3. 9, pp. 181a-340b.

²³ For individual characteristics of this manuscript see Thomson, *Catalogue*, pp. 57-58. For the terminology of Latin and English sentences, see N. I. Orme, 'Early School Note-Books', in *Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England* (London and Ronceverte, 1989), chapter 5, pp. 73-82. (This is a revised version of the author's former article 'Latin and English Sentences in Fifteenth-Century Schoolbooks', *The Yale University Library Gazette*, 60 (1985), 47-53).

²⁴ See Dietrich Reichling, ed., *Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa-Dei, Monumenta Germaniae paedagogica* xii (Berlin, 1893; reprinted New York, 1974). Johann Wrobel, ed., *Eberhardi Bethuniensis Graecismus. Corpus grammaticorum medii aevi* I (Breslau, 1887).

²⁵ John of Garland's *Compendium Grammatice* survives in Bruges, Bibliothèque publique, MS 546, fols 89r-145v.

²⁶ See my *Early Printed Editions*, pp. 21-22; also Thomson, *Catalogue*, p. 56.

²⁷ Thomson, *Catalogue*, pp. 56-57.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 61. In the original, e.g. the words 'man/chyld' (MS H2) and 'magister/dignus' (MS H13) are written below each other to arrange them in tabular form. This arrangement could not be reproduced in this article.

³⁰ There are four examples of the combination of versions of different treatises; see *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56, 66-67, and 75-76.

³² See my *Early Printed Editions*, pp. 14-15; compare also the lists of subject matter of the two versions on pp. 57-73.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-25.

³⁴ For booksellers' accounts see E. G. Duff, 'A Bookseller's Account, c. 1510', *The Library*, second series, 8 (1907), 256-66; and Falconer Madan, 'The Daily Ledger of John Dorne, 1520', *Collectanea* I, ed. C. R. L. Fletcher (Oxford Historical Society, v, 1885), pp. 71-177. See also my *Early Printed Editions*, pp. 29-32.

³⁵ The paper was completed before the publication of C. R. Bland's book, *The Teaching of Grammar in Late Medieval England. An Edition, with Commentary, of Oxford, Lincoln College MS Lat. 130* (East Lansing, Mich., 1991), in which a new manuscript of the *Accedence* is described and edited (MS 130, fols 7r-9v). This provides one or two additional examples of variation in subject matter but does not affect the main conclusions arrived at.

Subject Matter in Accedence Manuscripts and in Early Printed Grammars

I am grateful to Dr O. S. Pickering, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, for reading an earlier draft of this article.

Review

Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration. Photographs of Sixteen Manuscripts with Descriptions and Index, compiled and edited by Thomas H. Ohlgren. Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1992, pp. xiv + 576, including 448 pages of plates. \$75.

Dr Ohlgren's collection of photographs of tenth- and eleventh-century English manuscripts is a splendid addition to the range of reference works available to scholars and students working on Anglo-Saxon manuscript art, supplementing the material available in Temple's catalogue of late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and in Dr Ohlgren's own earlier catalogue.¹

The book consists of a series of black and white photographs accompanied by brief descriptions of the sixteen manuscripts from which they are taken and of each of the pages reproduced, together with an index to the subjects of the pictures. All decorated pages are reproduced, together with some pages of display script and the decorated covers of two of the manuscripts.² Descriptions of individual scenes are based on those in Dr Ohlgren's earlier catalogue, with some minor alterations, and there are cross-references to the earlier catalogue and to Temple's volume on Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. The descriptions are numbered to correspond to the plates and there are running headings, making the book much easier to use than Dr Ohlgren's earlier volume.

The choice of manuscripts is, on the whole, good, though the words 'textual illustration' in the title are rather misleading, since many of the plates are of decorated canon-tables. The selection includes four psalters, ten gospel-books, a copy of Prudentius's *Psychomachia* and the so-called Cædmon Manuscript of Old English poetry. Most of these manuscripts have never been reproduced in their entirety, and the facsimiles of the three which have been so reproduced (the Paris Psalter, the Cædmon Manuscript and the Cotton Prudentius) are not widely available.³ An easily accessible reproduction of Harley 603 is long over-due and it is also good to see reproductions of all the pictures in three of the four gospel-books owned by Judith of Flanders.⁴

The chief virtue of the book is that it includes all the decorated pages in the chosen manuscripts, instead of a selection, and that manuscript folios are reproduced complete so that it is possible to see the textual context of illustrations and also, in

many cases, to see complete openings. This is particularly useful in the case of the Harley and Bury Psalters,⁵ with their extensive sets of textual illustrations, and also in the case of decorated canon-tables, where one can study the sequence and pairing of scenes from seven different late Anglo-Saxon gospel-books. The inclusion of pages of display script allows one to follow up the work done by Heslop on the differing conventions followed at Canterbury and Winchester in the late Anglo-Saxon period.⁶

It is probably inevitable in a work of this kind that there should be some disappointments. To show the manuscripts in colour would, of course, have been impossibly expensive, but it would have been useful to include some indication of colouring in the descriptions of the plates. It would also have been useful to reproduce all manuscripts to the same scale. Measurements are given in the descriptions of the manuscripts, and some plates have a scale included, but one still tends to get the impression that books such as the Athelstan Psalter (which measures 128 x 88 mm) are comparable in size to, say, the Harley Psalter (which measures 380 x 309 mm). One major shortcoming in the book is the lack of transcriptions of all the inscriptions on the pictures, some of which, notably those in the Boulogne Gospels,⁷ cannot be read from the plates. These, however, are fairly minor blemishes in a book which all scholars working on late Anglo-Saxon manuscript art will want to possess.

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NOTES

¹ E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1066*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles 2 (London, 1976); T. H. Ohlgren, *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: An Iconographic Catalogue c. AD 625 to 1100* (New York, 1986).

² New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 708 and 709.

³ J. Bromwich, *et al.*, *The Paris Psalter*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 8 (London, 1958); I. Gollancz, *The Caedmon Manuscript of Anglo-Saxon Biblical Poetry, Junius XI in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1927); R. Stettiner, *Die illustrierten Prudentius-Handschriften* (Berlin, 1905).

⁴ The fourth, Fulda, Landesbibliothek, Aa 21, was written at St Bertin, see Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, p. 110.

⁵ British Library, Harley 603 and Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Regin. lat. 12.

⁶ T. A. Heslop, 'The Production of *de luxe* Manuscripts and the Patronage of King Cnut and Queen Emma', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 19 (1990), 151-95.

⁷ Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale, 11.

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